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PREFATORY NOTE

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The editor wishes to express thanks to his colleagues for help in preparing the volume.

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G. P. Goold
Editor

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THEMATIC COMPOSITION AND HOMERIC AUTHORSHIP

DAVID M. GUNN

INTRODUCTION

IN a discussion of the place of the "theme" in Serbo-Croatian narrative song technique Albert B. Lord writes: "Differences in working out the same subsidiary theme mark compositions as belonging to different singers just as surely as the more spectacular qualitative distinctions of length and fullness. This method is obviously of importance to the Homerist, plagued as he is with the question as to whether the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are by the same author."[1] This article will examine Lord's observation about individual treatment of themes by reference to the published Novi Pazar texts of the Parry Collection[2]

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[1] *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1960) 93. In his article, "Composition by Theme in Homer and Southslavic Epos," *TAPA* 82 (1951) 73, Lord defines the theme as "a recurrent element of narration or description in traditional oral poetry. It is not restricted, as is the formula, by metrical consideration; hence, it should not be limited to exact word-for-word repetition . . . Regular use, or repetition, is as much a part of the definition of the theme as it is of the definition of the formula, but the repetition need not be exact. Strictly speaking, we cannot call an action or situation or description in the poetry a theme unless we find it used at least twice." This general definition will suffice to get our inquiry under way and no attempt will be made here to extend, modify, or clarify it, a task beyond the scope of this study.

This paper was completed at the end of 1968, before it was possible to take proper account of some interesting and relevant studies, particularly Joseph A. Russo's "Homer Against his Tradition," *Arion* 7 (1968) 275-295, and Bernard Fenik's *Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad: Studies in the Narrative Techniques of Homeric Battle Description* (Wiesbaden 1968). Concerning the definition of the "formula" (below, n. 5) mandatory reading now, of course, is J. B. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford 1968).

[2] Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord, *Serbocroatian Heroic Songs* I and II (Belgrade and Cambridge [Mass.] 1953/1954), referred to hereafter as *S.C.H.S.* I and II. Reference to the text of vol. II will be by song number and line, e.g., 4.1241–1260. Where necessary, quotations will be accompanied by English translations which owe a considerable debt to those of Lord in vol. I.

And speaking of indebtedness, it is opportune to remark here that this article as a whole owes much to the criticism of Mr. J. M. Carter, now of Royal Holloway College, London, and to the encouragement of the writer's wife.

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and, as he suggests, apply this criterion for the distinguishing of authorship to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. To this end it is a working exercise resting upon the validity of the Parry–Lord hypothesis and in itself tests this hypothesis.

The analysis of Serbo-Croatian themes in terms of individual characteristics demands, for a start, the study of texts from singers closely related to one another, since it is in a comparison of the themes of a single district that we should expect to find the minimum of distinctive composition. In this respect the songs assembled in *S.C.H.S.* II are ideally suited to our purpose. And, although we have only a limited sample of the repertoires of the singers represented (except, perhaps, in the case of Salih Ugljanin), this limitation need not seriously impair the value of the investigation; the extent of Ugljanin's texts puts it on a sound basis methodologically since a norm can usually be established in the usage of this singer — a norm against which even a single example of a comparable theme from another singer may be measured.

Although the sample of themes presented in this paper is necessarily small and to some extent selective, it is nonetheless representative of a much wider random sample.[3] The factors involved in such selection are few. It has appeared desirable to include from both bodies of material themes of small size and relative simplicity as well as larger and more complex themes and to include material from as wide a variety of songs or books as possible. In the Yugoslav case there was also the desirability of discussing several themes from songs of different singers one of whom claimed to have learned his song from the other.

The Homeric themes analyzed are drawn from *Odyssey* books 3, 4, 6, 7, 12, 15, 19, and 20, and *Iliad* books 1, 2, 7, 9, 23, and 24. The Yugoslav themes are drawn from the following texts: Ugljanin's "The Song of Bagdad" (no. 1, sung 22 November 1934; no. 2, sung 24 July 1934; no. 3, dictated 23 July 1934), "The Captivity of Đulić Ibrahim" (no. 4, sung 24 November 1934; no. 5, recited 20 November 1934; no. 6,

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[3] In this connection an index of passages covered in both *S.C.H.S.* II and Homer may be found in the author's unpublished thesis, "The Singer and his Tradition: Aspects of Thematic Composition in Homer and Southslavic Heroic Song" (University of Melbourne 1966) 218–285. Some of the material dealt with in the examination of the Homeric theme is treated also by W. Arend in his study of "typical scenes," *Die typischen Scenen bei Homer* (Berlin 1933), but from a rather different perspective, so that in the interest of simplicity and objectivity the present essay proceeds quite independently of his work. In general it appears that his conclusions support at least the identification of what may now be termed "thematic composition" in Homer, as Parry was quick to observe: see his review in *CP* 31 (1936) 357–360.

dictated 23 November 1934), "The Wedding of Ćejvanović Meho" (no. 12, recited 16 November 1934), and "Hasan of Ribnik Rescues Mustajbey" (no. 18, dictated 12–13 November 1934; no. 19, dictated 23–24 July 1934); Fortić's "Sulejman Captures Budapest" (no. 20, sung 24 July 1934; no. 21, dictated 24 or 25 July 1934) and "The Song of Bagdad" (no. 22, sung 24 November 1934; no. 23, sung 17 May 1950); Zogić's "Bojičić Alija Rescues the Children" (no. 24, sung 22 November 1934; no. 25, dictated 24 July 1934); Makić's "Bojičić Alija Rescues the Children" (no. 29, dictated 26 November 1934); Fjuljanin's "Halil Hrnjičić and Miloš the Highwayman" (no. 31, sung 21 November 1934) and "The Captivity of Četić Osmanbey" (no. 32, sung 21 November 1934).[4] Numbers 1, 2, 3, 20, 21, 22, and 23 belong to a cycle concerning the capture of a city; nos. 4, 5, 6, and 32 (and 20 and 21 in second half only) are "Return" songs; 24, 25, and 29 are concerned with the rescue of certain children.

In pursuing this analysis we shall refer to each occurrence of a particular theme as an "instance" of this theme. It is also convenient to use the terms "element," "structure," and "language." The elements are the narrative or descriptive segments which together constitute a theme (for example, messenger arrives at tower, gives greeting to assembled heroes, greeting is returned, he asks for a particular hero, and so forth). The structure is the particular arrangement or order of the elements, and more especially the most important of these. The language is the actual verbal expression, the wording, of the elements.

THE SERBO-CROATIAN THEME

We find in the sample of themes from different Serbo-Croatian singers a moderate interchange of formulas and elements and very occasionally even groups of at least similar expressions. But, whereas the theme, in its more abstract sense of motif or typical scene, is almost entirely shared traditionally, the particular expression of any one theme varies from singer to singer. We find idiosyncrasies in vocabulary, in formulaic expression, in preference for certain elements, and in the particular sequence of elements whether couched in formulaic language or not. Moreover, in the instances of a singer's theme we can discern the degree to which the theme in whole or part is "fixed" in the singer's mind. We can observe the patterns formed, say, by persistent use of formulas or highly formulaic phrases and, in this kind of context, by

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[4] Texts were sung or recited for records or wire.

persistent *lack* of formulaic expression (sometimes involving striking elaboration) of parts or elements of a theme, ranging from single verses to whole groups of verses. Such patterns of language, representing the singer's grasp of, or feeling for, his theme, are a further hallmark of the individual.[5] The analyses that follow should illustrate these general observations.

MOUNTAIN COMBAT

A theme dealing with combat in a mountain clearing occurs in Ugljanin's texts at 4.485–503, 4.789–809 (a repeat of the former: the singer has stopped and gone back), 5.239–249 and 6.501–516, and in Fjuljanin's texts at 32.237–282.

Although Ugljanin varies his theme from eleven lines in 5.239–249 to nineteen in 4.485–503, he follows a clearly defined structure: the enemy *haiduk* or bandit shouts to his comrades to seize the hero; the

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[5] With this kind of formulation we seem to be impinging upon Michael N. Nagler's "Gestalt" (cf. "Towards a Generative View of the Oral Formula," *TAPA* 98 [1967] 269-311). Though making many timely and valuable emphases, the article as a whole does not convince me of the advantage to be gained by adopting his "Gestalt"/"allomorph" terminology. For one thing, the attack on the concept of the formula seems largely to be another instance of the "Definition Game" (e.g., on p. 278 he says, "This fact [of "almost uncanny phonemic 'corresponsions' between the adonean segments" of certain verses] raises as a rather startling possibility the notion that formulas, whatever they are, may not necessarily be made up of word-groups at all."). Some of the comments of R. L. Welsh ("A Note on Definitions," *JAF* 81 no. 321 [1968] 262–264) are relevant here. For another thing, it seems possible that the "Gestalt" and "family resemblance" concepts are so open-ended as to be consonant with any kind of assertion regarding the texts and so of little help in accounting for particular aspects of the particular diction (oral and traditional) with which we are concerned. Thus it is not surprising that the section on the significance of κρήδεμνον can so easily follow familiar lines in the discovery of associations and overtones (cf. on κρήδεμνον and αἰδώς, pp. 298-307) and the working out of symbolic meanings in various scenes and contexts. For with the "subsuming" (to the point of apparent elimination) of such classifications as "normal" and "variant" (see p. 311) problematic aspects of the repetitions in the diction (e.g., their utility) can be minimized or ignored. Hence in the present paper, though recognizing the need for caution, we shall still employ the (statistical) terminology of "norm" and "variant" (cf. Nagler, pp. 290, 311 — perhaps "exception" is a better word) and continue to view as valid and helpful the study of "standard usages and constructions" in comparison with "those which are unusual and apparently individual" (Mark W. Edwards, "Some Stylistic Notes on *Iliad* XVIII," *AJP* 89 no. 3 (1968) 282, 283). For a working definition of the "formula" (and "formulaic phrase") see Albert B. Lord, "Homer as Oral Poet," *HSCP* 72 (1968) 15–16, 25–29. This usage will be followed here.

hero sees that he is in a tight spot; his hand goes to his sword hilt; he attacks and slays the *haiduk*'s comrades; he fights with the *haiduk* himself and cuts off his head.

The language at these key points is simple and consists mainly of whole-line formulas varying little from instance to instance. Such elaborations as occur belong in the main to the *haiduk*'s initial speech and to the description of the single combat which takes place among the pine trees. The latter is a good example of a type of consistency frequently observed, where an element occurs fairly regularly in the context of close linguistic similarity but consistently shows variety of expression or length (cf. 4.495–498, 4.804–806, 6.513):

Sve teraju oko jela redom.	They pursued one another among the pine trees.
Oko jelje teraju zeljene.	They pursued one another among the green pines.
Đe stigahu, druga, judarahu, Jedan drugog šiba'ko jeljike . . .	Whenever they met they struck, They lashed at one another among the pine trees . . .
	(4.495–498)
Oko jela pa se poteraju.	They pursued one another among the pine trees.
Nikad jelju šiba suhogranu.	Not once did they strike the dry-branched pines.
Jedan za drug po jeljike biju . . .	They fought one another among the pine trees . . .
	(4.804–806)
Oko jela pa se poteraju.	They pursued one another among the pine trees.
	(6.513)

Structurally, Fjuljanin's theme at 32.237–287 follows the Ugljanin outline, but there are several idiosyncrasies in the language employed. For example, Ugljanin regularly sings that, when the hero had recognized that there was no escape, "Then his hand went to his sword hilt" (Pa mu ruka do balćaka side),[6] while Fjuljanin sings "Only then did he draw his foot soldier's sabre" (Tek rasuka sablju pešakinju).[7] Ugljanin

[6] Ugljanin 4.489, 5.242, 6.507; 4.479, the repeated instance, has with similar sense: "Pa mu slježe ruka do balćaka."

[7] Fjuljanin 32.240. Where Ugljanin expands this element — 4.489–490, 4.798–799, 5.242–243 — he uses a variable expression centred on "pisnu"; e.g. at 4.490: "A pisnu mu pešakinja ćorda" (His foot soldier's sword swished).

then has his hero make a rush "at the midst of them" (Pa među nji')
before cutting down all eight comrades, while Fjuljanin's hero rushes
"at the *haiduks*" (Na hajduke) and kills only some, putting the others
to flight.

Moreover, in the ensuing section, 32.253–282 (the single combat),
Fjuljanin has a version which little resembles Ugljanin's equivalent
section at all. He also uses this version in 31.916–966. This is actually an
ambush (for which Ugljanin has a separate theme); but, unlike the
usual ambush where the enemy is shot with a rifle, this instance is
elaborated and ends with a description of hand-to-hand combat
(31.947–966) which parallels the final section of the account of mountain
combat in question, 32.237–282, especially lines 253–270. The equiva-
lent sections from nos. 31 and 32 begin with the same four-line group,
in which the combatants wrestle on the mountain for two hours until
finally our hero begins to sink to his knees. He then calls for assistance,
and the instances diverge in accord with their individual context in
recounting how the respite comes. The language then becomes virtually
identical again with the hero straightening up, overpowering his
enemy, dragging him across the clearing, and, on finding a fragment of
his sword, preparing to cut off his head.

It would appear likely, then, that Fjuljanin regularly uses this scene
as part of his theme. But it has no parallel in either of Ugljanin's themes
of ambush or mountain combat despite all the other similarities of
content in the comparable themes of the two singers. Hence we can see
that Ugljanin and Fjuljanin differ not only in the expression of what
are largely common elements but also, at a certain point in the theme, in
the elements themselves or subject matter.

BATTLE

A larger theme is the full-scale battle which takes place between the
Turks and the *Vlahs* or Christians, usually as a climax to a song. It is
found in Ugljanin 4.1617–1716, 6.1217–1345, 12.659–740, 18.1151–
1203, and 19.1079–1148, in Zogić 24.1293–1316, and in Makić
29.586–623.

The instances of Ugljanin's theme illustrate well not only the high
degree of consistency that a theme may attain even though used in
several contexts but also the forms that such consistency may take.[8]

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[8] Contrast the almost verbatim resemblance of, say, 6.1248–1253 and 19.1099–
1104 with the merely elemental consistency of 4.1713–1716, 12.728–736, 6.1277–
1278 (and 1344–1345), and 18.1202–1203. Note further (1) consistent expressions

The basic structure is clear: the forces meet; there is a general description of the battle with direct speech employed; then comes the end of the battle (usually accompanied by the motifs of poor visibility and Tale, a notable hero, praying, plus a description of the battlefield when the haze lifts); certain comrades are missing but make a belated appearance; there are executions; bodies and booty are gathered; a muster is held. The order of the last four sections is variable.

To a point, the themes of Zogić and Makić share a structural pattern and are genuinely comparable, but there are differences. Zogić, for example, lacks the typical Ugljanin ending (missing comrades, executions, and so forth) and the first part of his theme up to the element of the haze is relatively very brief. And it is mainly because Zogić uses the lack-of-visibility, war-cry, and prayer elements to fill out the body of the theme, whereas Makić elaborates on the cries of the wounded, that their themes bear some close resemblance to parts of Ugljanin's theme while having much less in common with one another.

Furthermore, there are some elements and some language sufficiently similar to invite detailed comparison. Zogić and Ugljanin, for example, in the central portion of their themes show some interesting parallels in the duration-of-battle, haze, and war-cry elements, and linguistic parallels such as:

Ugljanin	*Zogić*
Puca luntra ka' ljetna graduška. (Rifles discharged like summer hail, 4.1619)	Puca puška ka' ljeti graduška. (Guns discharged like summer hail, 24.1294)
Niko koga poznat' ne mogaše. (No one could recognize any other, 4.1647, 6.1238, 18.1165)	Da brat brata poznat' ne mogaše. (So that brother could not recognize brother, 24.1299)
	Turci viću: "Jalah i Alija!" (The Turks shouted: "Allah and Alija!" 18.1168, 24.1301)

which occur regularly — e.g. "Ljetu konji, binjađija nema" (Horses swept by, riderless, 4.1632, 6.1229, 12.670, 18.1162, 19.1093), or "Đe su brda na tojage glave" (The hills were filled with heads on stakes, 4.1658, 6.1266, 12.694, 19.1115); (2) the variety of expressions for the element of a haze covering the land, Tale in the act of praying, the first part of his prayer, counting the dead, and checking the roll; (3) consistent groups of expressions which occur regularly — e.g., 4.1653–1655, 12.690–692, and 19.1111–1113, or 4.1625–1632, 12.667–669, 18.–1159–1161, and 19.1085–1087 (in both cases, however, the usage is different in no. 6, a dictated text, 6.1261–1264 and 1226–1228).

Da mu vetar puhne sa pljanine.
(That the wind might blow
from the high country,
6.1256; cf. 12.686, 19.1109,
24.1306)

Pa da vidi ćije društvo gine.
(That he might see which
company was losing, 4.1651;
cf. 6.1258, 12.687, 24.1308)

A lješina polje pritisnula.	A lješina polje *jufatila.*
(And corpses lay heavy upon the field, 4.1657)	(And corpses covered the field, 24.1316)

The similarity extends in places to a certain approximation in the grouping of elements, especially in the equivalents of Zogić's 24.1297–1311, namely 4.1646–1653, 6.1237–1262, 12.679–690, and 19.1106–1111 (and cf. 18.1164–1168), where we are told, taking the elements as they occur in Zogić's theme, of the cloud arising, visibility being accordingly reduced, the problem of recognition, war cries, Tale's prayer, and the clearing of the haze to enable one to see which side was losing.

Makić likewise has a section of his theme, 29.605–611, which follows closely (though as we shall see, significantly differently) an equivalent portion of Ugljanin's theme.

On the other hand, even at these points of greatest similarity it would seem that it is possible to separate the usage of each singer. To take the groupings just mentioned (Zogić 24.1297–1311 and Ugljanin 4.1646–1653, 6.1237–1262, 12.679–690, 19.1106–1111), Ugljanin consistently continues with several verses expressing the following: the wind blows and disperses the haze, one begins to look around the field, the plains are decorated with corpses. Zogić, on the other hand, sings at this point of the winds dispersing the haze, of Tale seeing which company was losing and that there was distress in every direction. His composition is thus only similar to a degree. It is interesting to observe, too, that one of Zogić's verses here (*He sad vide ćije društvo gine,* "And now he saw which company was losing") is very like one used regularly by both himself and Ugljanin as part of the content of Tale's prayer. The formula is shared by the singers, but its use in the theme is distinctive: Ugljanin avoids his counterpart's rather dull repetition by confining his use of the verse to the prayer itself.

Or we may consider the further examples mentioned, involving

29.605–611, a section of Makić's theme. For a start, we have a parallel
to these verses in his 28.708–711, which is from a related piece of
narrative, a skirmish. Since this section constitutes the central portion
of Makić's battle theme, the two instances together invite an interesting
comparison with the equivalent section in Ugljanin's theme.

Makić's version of the theme runs (28.708–711, 29.605–611):

Sablja sjeva, crn se krv proljeva.   Sabres flashed, dark blood spilled
                                         out.

+
wounded groaning
(an initial variable expression; elaborated in 29.607–608 to include direct
speech)

+

A grdno se noge koprcaju,   And limbs twitched exceedingly;
Posećene glave penušaju.   Severed heads spurted blood.

+ (29 only)

Idu konji, binađija nema.   Horses went by, riderless.

Ugljanin's equivalent regularly follows a slightly different pattern,
the distinctive characteristics being found in both the language of the
comparable verses, including the degree to which each is variable or
constant, and the order of the elements (4.1625–1632, 12.667–678,
18.1159–1162, 19.1085–1093; cf. 6.1226–1229):

Mać sijeva, krv se proljijeva,   Swords flashed, blood spilled out,
Klapusaju *jod* insana glave,   Men's heads tumbled,
A mrtve se noge koprcaju.   And dead limbs twitched.

+ (in variable order)
wounded groaning
(an initial constant expression; elaborated in 4.1629–1630, 12.675–678,
and 19.1089–1090 to include direct speech; missing altogether from the
brief instance in no. 18)

+

Ljetu konji, binađija nema.   Horses swept by riderless.

His only variation to this pattern comes in his version in no. 6, the
dictated text, where in any case the whole section has been recast in
such a way as to be virtually no longer comparable to the Makić group,
since in the recasting the only equivalent element is "Stada zveka

maća zeljenoga" (The clash of swords arose on the verdure), which
might be compared with Makić's "Sablja sjeva" (Sabres flashed).[9]

And these are by no means the only cases where individual com-
position is distinguishable even where the themes appear to be at their
closest, elementally and linguistically. Later in the theme, for example,
Makić recites (29.612–622):

Ko preteće, vesela mu majka;	The survivor brought joy to his mother;
Ko ostade, Bog mu đenet dao.	The rest, God gave them paradise.

But when Ugljanin uses the same motif he sings (4.1709–1710,
12.724–725):

Ko pogibe, šehit ako Bog da!	The dead were blessed, God willing!
Ko preteće, vesela mu majka!	The survivor brought joy to his mother.

Or again we may observe Makić's own use of common material when
he recites (29.615–616):

Od krvi se tama podizala,	Darkness arose from the blood,
Da drug druga poznat' ne mogaše.	So that comrade could not see comrade.

The second verse can be distinguished from Ugljanin's "Niko koga
poznat' ne mogaše" (No one could recognize any other, 4.1647,
6.1238, 18.1165). The context is still more interesting. For Makić the
element of nonrecognition does not belong, as in Ugljanin's theme,
with the element of haze over the battlefield but is instead a con-
comitant of the heroes' bloody state.

MESSENGERS

Two further examples of thematic composition occur in songs from
different singers which deal with the same subject matter and which

[9] This variation in no. 6 does not alter the significance of the characteristics
observed in the regular usage of the singer; it does issue a warning, however, in
the event of our discriminating between anonymous instances, against too hastily
concluding that such a group could not belong to the singer who composed the
others. Other evidence relating to the whole structure of the instance and further
elemental and linguistic parallels would need to be taken into account.

might be expected to be particularly closely related. It seems likely that Fortić learned his "Song of Bagdad" from Ugljanin. Accordingly, we shall compare a theme contained in nos. 1, 2, and 3 of Ugljanin with its equivalent theme in nos. 22 and 23 of Fortić. Zogić claimed to have learned "Alija Rescues the Children" from Makić, and so we shall look at a theme from nos. 24 and 25 of Zogić in comparison with its equivalent in no. 29 of Makić.[10]

Ugljanin's imperial messenger(s) theme is found at 1.135–196, 2.114–178, 3.109–183, and 11.68–97. Fortić's equivalent theme occurs at 22.87–128, 23.86–140, 20.58–88, and 21.90–102.

The instances of Ugljanin's theme in nos. 1, 2, and 3 are long (about seventy lines each) and closely resemble one another in every respect — they belong, of course, to three renditions of the same song and occur in the same position in each. As noted previously, a close parallel will often show consistency in both a positive and negative sense. This can be seen to advantage here in a comparison of 1.139–150, 2.125–138, and 3.116–129, where, although there is a degree of fluidity of expression from instance to instance, this is within a strict elemental consistency. Thus, although, for example, the verse in which the old lady goes to the window (2.130, 3.121) is missing from no. 1, we see that this is because its regular window element has been anticipated earlier by the use of "do pendera" in the flexible third verse (1.142, 2.128, 3.119):

Samo stara (do pendera) majka.	Only his elderly mother was (at the window.
(na odaji)	(in her room.
(Alijina)	Only Alija's elderly mother.

The theme begins with the arrival of the messenger at Kajnidža; he seeks out the tower of Đerđelez Alija; he knocks; Alija's mother answers and tells him that the hero is at the mosque; she gives directions which the messenger follows; the Turks have just emerged and give greeting; the messenger asks for Đerđelez Alija and the *aghas* point him out; the messenger brings out the *firman* (edict) and presents it to the hero; the hero, in turn, offers it to the *hodža* (priest) to read.

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[10] See *S.C.H.S.* I, 404–405 and 407. After an examination of the way in which the young singer learns his art (*The Singer of Tales*, 71–78) Lord concludes (p. 78), "It is not surprising, therefore, that the themes of the pupil may not eventually be at all close to those of the teacher." See further his discussion of "change and stability" in terms of the general subject matter and major elements of the themes of such pupil-teacher related songs, pp. 102–113 and 266–271 ("father-son transmission").

Now, we have one other instance of a similar type in Ugljanin's texts, at 11.68–97, in a quite different song. It begins with the messengers' arrival directly before the hero and his company (who are not now outside the mosque) and closely follows the theme as found in nos. 1, 2, and 3 from this point, with the obvious differences accounted for by difference of context: (1) the description of the hero now applies to Sirdar Mujo, instead of Alija, and (2) the absence of the *hodža* necessitates a change in the ending. This instance from no. 11 indicates, therefore, that this particular part of the theme, at least, is in general use in Ugljanin's repertoire and not only in the "Song of Bagdad."

The comparable theme in Fortić's "Song of Bagdad" occurs at 22.87–128 and 23.86–140 (sung fifteen years later).[11] Each instance has a broken or two-part structure involving the messenger's arrival at two distinct places, the hero, Đerđelez Alija, being at the second; but there are some striking differences. Whereas the instance in no. 22 follows, by and large, the Ugljanin pattern, in no. 23 Fortić has the messenger go first to Mujo, who sends his brother Halil to escort the messenger to Alija. This time it is Alija himself who hears the knocking and who cries out; he is answered by Halil, who tells him that the imperial messenger has arrived; Alija descends and meets them at the gate. In many ways this second portion of the narrative, from the arrival at Alija's tower, resembles Fortić's theme of a *letter* arriving, such as we find at 22.217–239.

For a start, then, we are faced with two substantially different versions by Fortić of which only that at 22.87–128 shows any marked affinities with the theme as employed by Ugljanin. Furthermore, a comparison reveals these affinities to be of only a general elemental and linguistic kind. Even where they are closest, the distinctiveness of each singer's usage is apparent, as witness several typical illustrations. (For this purpose it is useful to compare also material from Fortić's 20.58–88 and 21.90–102, which are further versions of this thematic type).

Where Fortić uses (22.89–90; cf. 23.120–121, 22.222–223):

Teška halka, ja golema vrata,	A heavy knocker and a mighty door,
Ja drmnu se bedem i kapija.	And the wall and the gate shook.

Ugljanin uses (1.139–140, 2.125–126; cf. 3.116–117):

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[11] See further Lord, *The Singer of Tales*, 117–119. He suggests that contemporary social conditions may have led Fortić in 1950 to make the initial change in the structure of the theme with the omission of the visit to the mosque.

| Pa zatrupa halkom na vratima. | And he rapped with a knocker on the door. |
| Jeknu halka *ja* goljema vrata. | The knocker resounded and the mighty door also. |

Integral to the description of the presentation of the *firman* in both singers' theme is an account of the kissing of the imperial missive. Typical of Fortić is 22.124–126 (cf. 23.134–136, 20.77–79, and 21.97–99):

Kad ugleda turalji fermana,	When he saw the imperial firman,
Pa skočijo ferman poljubijo,	He leapt up and kissed the firman,
Dva za cara treći za fermana.	Twice for the sultan, the third time for the firman.

Ugljanin, however, constructs his verses differently (1.190–192; cf. 2.173–175, 3.175–177 and 11.94–96):

Sedam put je patu jućinijo,	Seven times he made his bow,
Osmi put je ferman prifatijo,	The eighth time he took the firman,
E! prifatijo, pa ga poljubijo.	He took it and he kissed it.

Fortić regularly describes the breaking of the seal in all four of his imperial messenger instances (20.86–87, 21.100–101, 22.127–128, 23.139–140). In Ugljanin's texts this element does not occur in connection with the *firman* but is found regularly in association with an ordinary letter (cf. 1.364–366 and 405–408, 2.264–266, 15.207–209, 18.374). Moreover, the consistency of Ugljanin's "Pa na knjigi pečat salomijo" (Then he broke the seal on the letter) is in contrast to the variety of equivalent verses in Fortić. Ugljanin's next verse, "Pa niz knjigi pregljeda jaziju" (And he examined what was written in the letter), is consistently, even though only slightly, different from Fortić's "Pa pogljeda ferman niz jaziju," allowing for the replacement of "ferman" by "kniga" (letter). Finally, the quite definite way in which the verses are grouped by Ugljanin is distinctive in itself.

If it is relatively easy, then, to distinguish between these singers' treatments of the imperial messenger theme, it is even more so in the case of the arrival of a messenger with news for the lost hero's wife, in Zogić 24.83–145 and 25.71–130 and Makić 29.67–116. The two instances of Zogić's theme are extremely close,[12] whereas Makić's instance from no. 29, in comparison, exhibits a notable dissimilarity of

[12] The synoptic account (see *S.C.H.S.* I, 409) of Zogić's rendering of this song in 1951 fits precisely into this scheme.

precise elements as well as language. At most, we can say that Makić's use of an expansive theme concerning the arrival of a letter is closer to that of Zogić than to that of Ugljanin, although we have no precisely comparable theme in the case of the latter singer.

At this point we might compare again the battle themes of Zogić and Makić. The instances concerned (Zogić 24.1293–1316 and Makić 29.586–623) came in fact from the songs under examination here, and we saw that they, too, bore only limited resemblance to each other and indeed showed greater affinities with Ugljanin's theme. Clearly, in these cases the learning process is not one of slavish imitation: Zogić's relation in this respect to Makić, for example, has not entailed the loss of freedom, or the inability, to construct his own thematic versions according to his own taste and talent.

The Serbo-Croatian Theme: Summary

To sum up so far, this study bears out Lord's observations about individual treatment of themes; it also gives some further indications of the particular ways in which themes may differ from singer to singer (as summarized above, pp. 3, 4). Whereas the theme of the individual may have a high level of consistency, comparable themes of different singers are rarely found to be precisely the same; even where elements and the groupings of elements in a theme are very similar, the language used is almost invariably distinctive to some extent. This is so, moreover, even where we might expect considerable similarity, namely in the case of a song compared with the model from which it was (claimed to be) learned.

The Homeric Theme

We have now to apply these criteria for the distinguishing of authorship to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The text of each poem will be treated initially as a substantial unity, without prejudicing the question of whether the authorship of both poems is the same.[13] Note that the degree will vary to which the results of an analysis of such analogous material will help in the matter of authorship. Indistinguishable

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[13] The argument to follow finds strong support in the appeal to analogy, where the comparative evidence lends some empirical grounding to the often highly subjective decision as to what or what not a single author may be supposed to have composed or written. It may also stand by itself as an argument from stylistic analysis.

On the question of substantial unity see, e.g. G. S. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962) 253–267, and Cedric H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1958) 1–16.

thematic composition in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* would be extremely helpful, since to weaken the force of the analogy one would have to speculate along the lines that the Greek tradition as a whole was far more rigidly organized so that it entailed even the loss of the individual's own thematic style.[14] On the other hand, clear dissimilarity between the two poems in this regard would be less helpful, since there are other factors which might vitiate the analogy. There is, for example, the possibility that the two poems are from the same poet but from widely separated stages in his career. In this case, our analysis of Yugoslav material would be to some extent incomplete, since it has included only one such example (nos. 22 and 23 of Fortić, sung at an interval of fifteen years), and it is conceivable that there might be more radical changes in certain singers' thematic traits over many years (though this is unlikely, as Lord argues, *The Singer of Tales*, 94). This eventuality, however, remains hypothetical. as we shall see presently.

SUPERNATURAL VISITANT

A theme which has several instances in our texts concerns the visitation of a supernatural figure to the bedside of a hero or heroine with the purpose of imparting some information, usually such as to provide some essential motivation for the further action of the narrative — *Odyssey* 4.787–841, 6.15–47, 15.1–43, 20.24–55, and *Iliad* 2.18–36, 23.59–100, 24.682–689.

We find, with a few exceptions to be listed below, a common structure of elements which fit easily into the natural shape of the scene: the person to be visited lies pondering or sleeping or, in some case, has gone through both states; the visitant draws near in the likeness of someone known to the visited and stands above the latter's head; the visitant speaks and departs, whereupon the other usually awakens or springs up, if asleep, or goes to sleep, if awake.

Noticeable is the element concerning the particular likeness of the visitant: at *Iliad* 2.20–22, *Odyssey* 4.796–798, 6.22–24, and 20.31, the visitant assumes the shape of someone familiar to the visited; at *Iliad* 23.66–67 the visitant is the spirit of Patroclus and so πάντ᾽ αὐτῷ μέγεθός τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ᾽ ἐϊκυῖα; the element is absent from the instance in *Iliad* 24 (possibly for dramatic reasons)[15] and also from the instance in *Odyssey* 15.

[14] Lord criticizes one aspect of this speculation in his article (above, n. 5 *ad fin.*), pp. 16–19, 33–34.
[15] The dramatic effect of a *direct* confrontation between Priam and the god would also account for the king's reaction of dread. On the other hand Hermes

With one exception, the scene closes with the explicit departure of the visitant, the exception again being in *Iliad* 24, where extreme economy and the retention of Hermes in the vicinity complicate matters. When the visitant is Athene, she always departs for Olympus — this, however, occurs only in the *Odyssey*.

A common linguistic feature of the theme is:

στῆ δ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς (καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν (*Iliad* 23.68, 24.682, Odyssey 4.803, 6.21, 20.31).

(Νηληίῳ υἷι ἐοικώς (*Iliad* 2.20).

Again, however, there is an exception. This time it is *Odyssey* 15.1–43, an important link between the Odysseus and Telemachus stories, which also omits the important likeness element and must be classed as irregular. The formulaic ἀγχοῦ δ᾽ ἱσταμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη[16] replaces the usual expression.

Iliad 2.20 seems to stand out as unusual in terms of the regular formula but may be understood in the light of the other instances. In the theme as it occurs at *Odyssey* 4.787–841, 20.24–55, and *Iliad* 23.59–100, the likeness is described *before* the verse in question. Thus the visitant's direct speech can follow naturally from καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν. In the instance at *Odyssey* 6.15–47 the likeness is described *after* this verse, thereby necessitating a summing-up verse which can also lead into the direct speech (thus: τῇ μιν ἐεισαμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη), in which case the earlier formula of speaking has become redundant. At *Iliad* 2.20 the poet has begun this same verse without first mentioning the likeness element but manages to avoid the clumsy redundancy noted in the composition of *Odyssey* 6.15–47 by eliminating the speaking element from the usual formula, using the remaining half line to express instead the likeness, and then slipping into the direct speech in the same way as at *Odyssey* 6.24 with a modification, of course, for the change of subject: τῷ μιν ἐεισάμενος προσεφώνεε θεῖος ὄνειρος.[17]

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has already confronted him in the disguise, we gather, of a squire of Achilles so that it is possible that this nocturnal visitation presumes the same likeness.

[16] *Il.* 2.172; cf. *Od.* 4.25, 17.349, 5.159, *Il.* 2.790, 3.129, 4.92, 5.123, etc.

[17] This explanation is not to be construed as implying a necessary chronological sequence of instances. Nor is it meant to imply that the poet is perfectly conscious of what he has said on certain specific occasions. This is rather unlikely. The point is that there is an uncertainty about how to tell this particular narrative incident and the result is three different attempts, two of them neater than the third. The key factors are the conservative influence of the whole-line

This theme, then, has a small but regularly employed shape (with perhaps the exception of *Odyssey* 15.1–43), and there are no distinctions evident between usage in the two poems.

GUEST(S) FOR THE NIGHT

A theme used when a visitor (or visitors) stays the night with a host of some standing is found at *Odyssey* 3.329–403, 4.294–305, 7.334–347, and *Iliad* 9.617–668 and 24.635–676. For convenience of presentation the instances are quoted in extenso. We look first at the *Odyssey*.

Odyssey 3 (Pylos — one guest, Telemachus)

334 σπείσαντες κοίτοιο μεδώμεθα· τοῖο γὰρ ὥρη.
. . . .
396 οἱ μὲν κακκείοντες ἔβαν οἶκονδε ἕκαστος·
τὸν δ' αὐτοῦ κοίμησε Γερήνιος ἱππότα Νέστωρ,
Τηλέμαχον, φίλον υἱὸν Ὀδυσσῆος θείοιο,
τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσιν ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ ἐριδούπῳ,
400 πὰρ δ' ἄρ' ἐϋμμελίην Πεισίστρατον, ὄρχαμον ἀνδρῶν,
ὅς οἱ ἔτ' ἠΐθεος παίδων ἦν ἐν μεγάροισιν·
αὐτὸς δ' αὖτε καθεῦδε μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο,
τῷ δ' ἄλοχος δέσποινα λέχος πόρσυνε καὶ εὐνήν.

Odyssey 4 (Sparta — two guests, Telemachus and Peisistratus)

ἀλλ' ἄγετ' εἰς εὐνὴν τράπεθ' ἡμέας, ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη
295 ὕπνῳ ὕπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες.
Ὣς ἔφατ', Ἀργείη δ' Ἑλένη δμῳῇσι κέλευσε
δέμνι' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι καὶ ῥήγεα καλὰ
πορφύρε' ἐμβαλέειν, στορέσαι τ' ἐφύπερθε τάπητας,
χλαίνας τ' ἐνθέμεναι οὔλας καθύπερθεν ἕσασθαι.
300 αἱ δ' ἴσαν ἐκ μεγάροιο δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι,
δέμνια δὲ στόρεσαν· ἐκ δὲ ξείνους ἄγε κῆρυξ.
οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐν προδόμῳ δόμου αὐτόθι κοιμήσαντο,
Τηλέμαχός θ' ἥρως καὶ Νέστορος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·
Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ καθεῦδε μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο,
305 πὰρ δ' Ἑλένη τανύπεπλος ἐλέξατο, δῖα γυναικῶν.

Odyssey 7 (Phaeacia — one guest, Odysseus)

335 κέκλετο δ' Ἀρήτη λευκώλενος ἀμφιπόλοισι
δέμνι' ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι καὶ ῥήγεα καλὰ

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formula of standing above the head and speaking, which occurs *as* a whole-line formula six times, coupled with an uncertainty about the relative position of the likeness element.

πορφύρε᾽ ἐμβαλέειν, στορέσαι τ᾽ ἐφύπερθε τάπητας
χλαίνας τ᾽ ἐνθέμεναι οὔλας καθύπερθεν ἕσασθαι
αἱ δ᾽ ἴσαν ἐκ μεγάροιο δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι·
340   αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ στόρεσαν πυκινὸν λέχος ἐγκονέουσαι,
ὤτρυνον δ᾽ Ὀδυσῆα παρισταμέναι ἐπέεσσιν·
   "Ὄρσο ἕκων, ὦ ξεῖνε· πεποίηται δέ τοι εὐνή.
   Ὣς φάν, τῷ δ᾽ ἀσπαστὸν ἐείσατο κοιμηθῆναι.
ὣς ὁ μὲν ἔνθα καθεῦδε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς
345   τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσιν ὑπ᾽ αἰθούσῃ ἐριδούπῳ·
Ἀλκίνοος δ᾽ ἄρα λέκτο μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο,
πὰρ δὲ γυνὴ δέσποινα λέχος πόρσυνε καὶ εὐνήν.

The second and third of these instances (from books 4 and 7) both
begin with a highly consistent five-line group which details instructions
for preparing the beds and describes the maids setting about their task
(4.296–300 and 7.335–339). In the former case the poet has preceded
this group with an injunction to go to bed (4.294–295) and so moves
directly to detail the carrying out of the instructions: δέμνια δὲ στόρεσαν·
ἐκ δὲ ξείνους ἄγε κῆρυξ (4.301). In the latter case he has begun to
enumerate the instructions without having Alcinous first issue an
injunction to his guest, Odysseus; accordingly he does so (7.341–343)
when the preparation is complete: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ στόρεσαν πυκινὸν λέχος
ἐγκονέουσαι . . . (7.340).

In 3.329–403 the subject of going to bed is broached sixty-five lines
before the theme proper and occupies most of the intervening space.
No preparation is described. The other guests depart, and we are led
straight into the main section of the theme with 3.397.[18]

Our focus in all three instances then falls first upon the guest(s).
Where there are two guests, as in the visit to Sparta, the poet uses οἱ μὲν
ἄρ᾽ ἐν προδόμῳ δόμου αὐτόθι κοιμήσαντο (4.302) plus a verse elabora-
ting the names of the characters concerned; but where, as in the other
two instances, only a single guest is present he first employs a verse
combining reference to the person concerned together with a verb of
sleeping and then adds τρητοῖς ἐν λεχέεσσιν ὑπ᾽ αἰθούσῃ ἐριδούπῳ (3.399

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[18] It is possible that the brevity of this instance is to be seen in terms of its
relative importance. Ugljanin is careful, when in a single song he uses more than
once a theme of a hero's preparation for departure on an adventure, to vary the
fullness of the instance depending on the particular hero involved and the rela-
tive importance of the journey. Here the poet might well have in mind the
forthcoming stay with Menelaus, an episode of importance with a host of great
fame to whom even Nestor would have to yield precedence. Lord discusses this
aspect of thematic composition at some length in *The Singer of Tales*, especially
pp. 84–85 and 88.

and 7.345).[19] The instance at 3.329, however, elaborates further (in a manner that directly parallels the depiction of the host's wife, as we shall see) by adding two verses about Peisistratus, thus anticipating the teaming up of the two young heroes.

Finally we come to the host and his wife. The first verse is formulaic: host + verb of sleeping (past tense) + μυχῷ + noun of location and epithet (genitive case).[20] The next verse is about the wife. At 3.403 and 7.347 the reference is general and a similar verse is used on each occasion. In the Sparta episode Helen is mentioned by name.

This brings us to a comparison with the *Iliad*.

Iliad 9 (Achilles' hut — one guest, Phoenix)

617 οὗτοι δ' ἀγγελέουσι, σὺ δ' αὐτόθι λέξεο μίμνων
     εὐνῇ ἔνι μαλακῇ. . . . .
     . . . .
620 Ἦ, καὶ Πατρόκλῳ ὅ γ' ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε σιωπῇ
     Φοίνικι στορέσαι πυκινὸν λέχος. . . . .
     . . . .
658 Πάτροκλος δ' ἑτάροισιν ἰδὲ δμῳῆσι κέλευσε
     Φοίνικι στορέσαι πυκινὸν λέχος ὅττι τάχιστα.
660 αἱ δ' ἐπιπειθόμεναι στόρεσαν λέχος ὡς ἐκέλευσε,
     κώεά τε ῥῆγός τε λίνοιό τε λεπτὸν ἄωτον.
     ἔνθ' ὁ γέρων κατέλεκτο καὶ Ἠῶ δῖαν ἔμιμνεν.
     αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς εὗδε μυχῷ κλισίης εὐπήκτου·
     τῷ δ' ἄρα παρκατέλεκτο γυνή, τὴν Λεσβόθεν ἦγε,
665 Φόρβαντος θυγάτηρ, Διομήδη καλλιπάρῃος.
     Πάτροκλος δ' ἑτέρωθεν ἐλέξατο· πὰρ δ' ἄρα καὶ τῷ
     Ἰφίς ἐΰζωνος, τήν οἱ πόρε δῖος Ἀχιλλεὺς

Iliad 24 (Achilles' hut — two guests, Priam and herald)

635 λέξον νῦν με τάχιστα, διοτρεφές, ὄφρα καὶ ἤδη
     ὕπνῳ ὕπο γλυκερῷ ταρπώμεθα κοιμηθέντες·
     . . . .

[19] The notable discussion of this kind of distinction in the diction within terms of sustained thrift is in Parry's review, "About Winged Words," *CP* 32 (1937) 59–63. A good example is noted in passing by Nagler (above, n. 5), 291. Several further cases are described below, pp. 27 and 28.

[20] Here where the poet is talking of proper houses, his δόμου ὑψηλοῖο is used regularly and appropriately; in a related instance we find, equally appropriately, μυχῷ σπείους γλαφυροῖο (*Od.* 5.226), while, as we shall see, a further change of location, in the *Iliad*, brings with it a further variation: μυχῷ κλισίης εὐπήκτου (*Il.* 9.663 and 24.675).

643   Ἦ ῥ᾽, Ἀχιλεὺς δ᾽ ἑτάροισιν ἰδὲ δμωῇσι κέλευσε
        δέμνι᾽ ὑπ᾽ αἰθούσῃ θέμεναι καὶ ῥήγεα καλὰ
645   πορφύρε᾽ ἐμβαλέειν, στορέσαι τ᾽ ἐφύπερθε τάπητας,
        χλαίνας τ᾽ ἐνθέμεναι οὔλας καθύπερθεν ἕσασθαι.
        αἱ δ᾽ ἴσαν ἐκ μεγάροιο δάος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι,
        αἶψα δ᾽ ἄρα στόρεσαν δοιὼ λέχε᾽ ἐγκονέουσαι.
        . . . .
673   οἱ μὲν ἄρ᾽ ἐν προδόμῳ δόμου αὐτόθι κοιμήσαντο,
        κῆρυξ καὶ Πρίαμος, πυκινὰ φρεσὶ μήδε᾽ ἔχοντες,
675   αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεὺς εὗδε μυχῷ κλισίης εὐπήκτου·
        τῷ δὲ Βρισηῒς παρελέξατο καλλιπάρῃος.

Iliad 9.617–668, the stay of Phoenix in Achilles' hut after the embassy, begins, like the Sparta and Pylos instances in the *Odyssey*, with advice to go to bed. Instructions follow: first, Achilles nods to Patroclus instructing him to spread a bed for Phoenix; but there is no need for the hint — Aias forestalls him, and after a final conversation he and Odysseus take their leave. The instructions are then resumed, in turn, by Patroclus, and carried out by the servants.

Iliad 24.635–676 also commences with advice to go to bed, although on this occasion it is Priam, the visitor, who makes the suggestion.[21] The instructions for preparation are then issued by Achilles (24.643), but the details that follow are more elaborate than those of the Phoenix episode and in fact follow verbatim those of *Odyssey* 4.297–300 and 7.336–339 down to the departure of the maids (24.647). And just where both the *Odyssey* instances diverged (see p. 18) — in the actual fulfilling of the instructions — our example from the *Iliad* provides a further variation, closely resembling *Odyssey* 7.340 but allowing for two guests instead of one: αἶψα δ᾽ ἄρα στόρεσαν δοιὼ λέχε᾽ ἐγκονέουσαι (24.648).

The Phoenix scene then proceeds directly to the depiction of guest and host as did *Odyssey* 4.294–305, but the Priam scene, like *Odyssey* 7.334–347, is interrupted by a small digression before the poet picks up his theme again, following the *Odyssey* pattern, with reference to the two guests being laid to sleep (24.673–674). This element takes precisely the form of the *Odyssey* "two-guests" type (4.302–303). The conservative influences clearly present in such theme-making enable 24.673 (= *Odyssey* 4.302) with its ἐν προδόμῳ δόμου to pass unchanged despite a decided shift of context (as witness the later substitution, at

[21] As does Telemachus, and in very similar language, in the Sparta scene.

24.675, of κλισίης εὐπήκτου for δόμου ὑψηλοῖο in a more flexible formula).[22]

The pattern is completed with the focus upon the host (in this case, Achilles) and beside him his wife or paramour (here Briseis). Again the norm seen in the *Odyssey* is the norm here with merely an easy substitution, at 24.675, of one phrase of location for another.

The earlier instance in book 9 proceeds straight from the carrying out of the instructions to the lying down of the guest, Phoenix. The pattern then continues as usual with the formulaic reference to host and his female company. This episode, however, further continues, after a verse of embellishment concerning the fair-cheeked Diomede, with an account of Patroclus and *his* paramour which is constructed along the same lines as that of the host and partner, but in somewhat different language entailing "necessary" enjambement.[23] We have already seen a similar extension of the theme at *Odyssey* 3.400–401 except that, unlike Peisistratus who could be put beside the young *guest*, Telemachus, Patroclus is on a par with Achilles as an adult and host in the episode and so the elaboration is made accordingly in the appropriate position in the theme.

Nevertheless, we must also notice that the whole instance shows signs of irregularity, comparatively speaking. It is not altogether clear, for example, why, if we are dealing with a further instance of the one poet's theme, the reference to the guest (9.662) should not have followed more closely the form of the other single-guest types (above, p. 18), unless perhaps ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ ἐριδούπῳ has, at this point at any

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[22] Frederick M. Combellack has an interesting discussion of this feature in his article, "Some Formulary Illogicalities in Homer," *TAPA* 96 (1965) 41–56.

[23] For enjambement generally see Milman Parry, "The Distinctive Character of Enjambement in Homeric Verse," *TAPA* 61 (1929) 200–220; Albert B. Lord, "Homer and Huso III: Enjambement in Greek and Southslavic Epos," *TAPA* 79 (1948) 113–124; Mark W. Edwards, "Some Features of Homeric Craftsmanship," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 115–179. The "unperiodic" enjambement used to fill out the reference to Diomede parallels that on Telemachus, *Od.* 3.398; cf. Edwards, p. 137 and section 2.33 (pp. 146–147). According to Parry and Lord, "necessary" enjambement may be a mark of a more skilled and mature singer (see also Edwards, p. 176). The case in point, *Il.* 9.666–667, would appear to fall in the category of personal runover names discussed by Edwards in section 2.253 (p. 135). Because of the poet's thematic habit of referring to host and then wife or paramour beside him, we can to some extent anticipate, by the end of 9.666, a reference to a woman (if not this particular one) in the next verse, so that the enjambement is not so "harsh" as it might otherwise have been.

rate, been felt to be unsuitable.[24] This suggestion might also account for the abandonment of the regular four-line group concerning the details of the instructions (*Odyssey* 4.297–300 = 7.336–339 = *Iliad* 24.644–647) with its not altogether suitable reference to place — would the reversion to the regular pattern at 24.644–647 then be a sign of a weary singer? — and for its replacement by a single summary verse, a slightly modified version of one employed some twenty lines earlier. A further single verse indicating that the instructions are carried out (9.660; cf. 24.648, *Odyssey* 4.301 and 7.340) now follows regularly, but the barren and colourless combination that has resulted (9.658–960) demands some compensation. Consequently a (unique) alleviating expression is added: κώεά τε ῥῆγός τε λίνοιό τε λεπτὸν ἄωτον (9.661).[25]

To sum up, it is apparent that despite certain reservations concerning *Iliad* 9.617–968 the correspondences between instances are marked, strikingly so in the case of the two-guest types, *Odyssey* 4.294–305 and *Iliad* 24.635–676. Elementally, the theme is clearly demarcated, and any interruption to the strict sequence of elements comes after the advice to go to bed or after the instructions for preparation are carried out — a pattern observed in both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. As we have seen, the expression of the elements is highly consistent. The suggestion of common authorship is accordingly strong. Here we have a theme which probably has been shaped initially in the context of hospitality in a proper house but has acquired a value as a more general and flexible unit of composition. The poet has sought to adapt the particular within a highly useful framework: hence the marked changes of particular context involved in the instances we have looked at — change of host, guest, place, and even the number of guests. Such deployment of the theme clearly demands considerable imagination and skill.

FEASTING

As Homeric heroes are given to sleeping, so, not unnaturally, are they to be found eating. One of a number of themes depicting this kind of activity is an interesting one of feasting which is closely connected with sacrifice. It is found at *Iliad* 1.447–474, 2.402–432, 7.314–323, *Odyssey* 3.418–473, 12.339–398, and 19.418–425.

[24] In a formulaic setting, ὑπ' αἰθούσῃ (*Il.* 24.644 = *Od.* 4.297 = *Od.* 7.336) and ἐκ μεγάροιο (*Il.* 24.647 = *Od.* 4.300) have been retained although strictly speaking inappropriate in this context in which the theme has now been put to use. Cf. the retention of ἐν προδόμῳ δόμου at *Il.* 24.673, mentioned above.

[25] Dr. Nagler has kindly pointed out the parallel at *Il.* 22.469 with its three-fold gloss on κρήδεμνον.

Let us take, first, two instances in the *Iliad*. Book 1.447–474 begins
with the setting of the hecatomb around the altar. Hands are washed,
the barley grains taken up, and Chryses prays, after which the grains
are scattered and the throats of the victims cut (1.447–459). Although
2.402–432 appears to begin properly at 2.410, it is anticipated somewhat
by 2.402–403 (compare the close parallels, *Iliad* 7.314–315 and *Odyssey*
13.24–25) in what must be taken as a kind of prefatory focussing of
attention upon the most important sacrifice and feast, that of the
chieftains.[26] Given the differences between these opening lines (2.410
and 1.447–448), particularly in the apparent force of the verbs, the
correspondence between the first element of 2.410 and its equivalent in
1.447–448 — compare περιστήσαντο and ἔστησαν . . . περὶ, coupled with
βοῦν and ἑκατόμβην, respectively — is noteworthy. No handwashing
occurs in the instance from book 2, its place in the verse having been
taken by βοῦν δὲ περιστήσαντο. As in the book 1 episode, the formula
concerning the barley is followed by a prayer, and this by the two
verses found in this position at 1.458–459 (= 2.421–422): the grains
are scattered and the throats cut. Each instance continues the verbatim
resemblance with another two lines, describing the preparation of the
meat, before diverging:

> καῖε δ' ἐπὶ σχίζῃς ὁ γέρων, ἐπὶ δ' αἴθοπα οἶνον
> λεῖβε· νέοι δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν.
>
> (1.462–463)

> καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄρ' σχίζῃσιν ἀφύλλοισιν κατέκαιον,
> σπλάγχνα δ' ἄρ' ἀμπείραντες ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο.
>
> (2.425–426)

The divergence is largely in the expression of what appear to be two
common elements: the burning of the previously described offering and
the roasting of the entrails. Although the latter is not explicit in the
example from book 1, it seems to be implied when we consider the
obvious correspondence between ἀμπείραντες and the function of
πεμπώβολα[27] in conjunction with the implication of the line that
follows (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρ' ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχν' ἐπάσαντο, 1.464) that

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[26] αὐτὰρ ὁ βοῦν ἱέρευσεν ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν Ἀγαμέμνων / πίονα πενταέτηρον
ὑπερμενέϊ Κρονίωνι (*Il.* 2.402–403). This is only partially successful since we
are accustomed to chronological sequence in the narration, as witness the other
uses of the verses in question, so that when after a short space the narrative
brings us to the point where the victim's throat is cut we feel a certain redun-
dancy.

[27] Compare the link in the common formula, καὶ ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν, *Il.*
1.465, 2.428, *Od.* 3.462, 12.365, 14.430; cf. 14.75.

the σπλάγχνα have in fact been cooked. A further divergence between the two instances at this point (in the same two verses) is elemental and not simply a divergence of expression: in the first scene Chryses pours a libation over the offering.

The verbatim parallel then resumes until the end of the theme, six lines later, concluding with the appropriate eating and transitional formulas (1.464–469, 2.427–432).[28] The transition in book 1 is only partial: two common whole-line formulas of serving wine and pouring libations precede singing, darkness, and sleep.[29] In book 2 the transition is complete, and the narrative takes a new direction.

The correspondence between the two instances is remarkably close, therefore, with only slight elemental divergence (handwashing and libations) in the context of quite extensive linguistic parallels.

How does usage in the *Odyssey* compare? At 12.339–398 Odysseus' crew have decided to kill the cattle of Hyperion and feast upon them. Having selected the best of the animals, they begin the business of preparation (12.356–358):

$$τὰς δὲ περιστήσαντο καὶ εὐχετόωντο θεοῖσι,$$
$$φύλλα δρεψάμενοι τέρενα δρυὸς ὑψικόμοιο·$$
$$οὐ γὰρ ἔχον κρῖ λευκὸν ἐϋσσέλμου ἐπὶ νηός.$$

"Standing around" is followed by prayer; the barley element, represented in the two instances in the *Iliad* by καὶ οὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο (1.449, 2.410), makes its presence felt noticeably by the very fact of its negation, which is due, of course, to the special circumstances of this particular feast.

The praying is simply reported in the third person without recourse to direct speech, and the instance continues with the next appropriate formula found in the examples from the *Iliad*, αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' εὔξαντο (1.458, 2.421). The poet has already mentioned the absence of the barley, so that the remaining half line as it occurs in the *Iliad* is missed out, but the second half line of the verse that follows (1.459, 2.422) — καὶ

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[28] A "transitional" formula in this context is an expression taking the form "but when they had (eaten)," so as to provide a bridge into a new theme or section to follow. On such expressions see further, Nagler (above, n. 5), 293. Both the eating and transitional formulas noted in the present discussion are common. Eating: *Il.* 1.468 = 602, 2.431, 7.320, 23.56, *Od.* 16.479, 19.425; transition: *Il.* 1.469 = 2.432, 7.323, 9.92, 222, 23.57, 24.628, *Od.* 1.150, 3.67, 473, 4.68, 8.72, 485, 12.308, 14.454, 15.143, 303, 501, 16.55, 480, 17.99.

[29] *Il.* 1.470, *Od.* 1.148, 3.339, 21.271, and *Il.* 1.471, 9.176, *Od.* 3.340, 21.272, respectively.

ἔσφαξαν καὶ ἔδειραν — completes the hexameter easily, with the essential flow and sense of the theme as found in the *Iliad* intact.

The formulaic parallel continues with 12.360–361 (= *Iliad* 1.460–461, 2.423–424) in describing the preparation of the meat. But, exactly where the two-line break occurred in the verbatim parallel between the two instances in the *Iliad*, we have a further two-line variation at 12.362–363:

> οὐδ᾽ εἶχον μέθυ λεῖψαι ἐπ᾽ αἰθομένοις ἱεροῖσιν,
> ἀλλ᾽ ὕδατι σπένδοντες ἐπώπτων ἔγκατα πάντα.

Here it would seem that the poet has taken the opportunity to do what he did earlier in the case of the barley and suit his theme more exactly to its particular context by a negative statement of the libations element noted in this position in the theme in *Iliad* 1.462–463. Characteristically, roasting the entrails occupies the final position in the two-line variant.

Again the verbatim parallel continues, but only for two more lines (12.364–365):

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κατὰ μῆρ᾽ ἐκάη καὶ σπλάγχνα πάσαντο,
> μίστυλλόν τ᾽ ἄρα τἆλλα καὶ ἀμφ᾽ ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν.

Once more the theme is interrupted, and this time brought to a close by the demands of its context: Odysseus wakes up and discovers what has happened in his absence. The meat *on the spits* becomes the vehicle for the portents of the gods. Thus the point of the scene lies in the sacrifice and the preliminaries to the feast, the plight of Odysseus and the reaction of the gods being thrown into relief. Accordingly, the interruption of the theme at this point is demanded by organic factors in the story itself and has no significance for an assessment of authorship.[30]

So far, then, the relationship between 12.339–398 and the theme in the *Iliad* appears to be remarkably close. The three remaining instances from both *Iliad* and *Odyssey* confirm this impression, as we shall now see.

Odyssey 3.418–473, the feast at Pylos, is a comparatively elaborated scene with a very detailed description of the initial preparation for sacrifice and feast. Telemachus, on the threshold of his first great adventure, meets and is entertained by Nestor, who makes for vague reasons an impressive vow to sacrifice a heifer, having overlaid her

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[30] An expression of eating (12.398) does finally complement the theme after the long interruption, but it has become detached and belongs with new direction of the narrative, as the common pattern of language into which it is incorporated indicates.

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horns with gold. Now, this is the very same vow that Diomedes makes when about to go forth with Odysseus on a most dangerous expedition (*Iliad* 10.292–294). It is tempting to infer that the vow and the sacrifice are, in fact, occasioned by Telemachus' presence and the significance of his forthcoming journey. At any rate, the occasion is treated as an important one by the poet and given very full treatment.

Comparing the equivalent opening portions of each instance (*Iliad* 1.447–450 + prayer, 2.410–411 + prayer, *Odyssey* 12.356–358, and 3.439–446), we note that those elements common to the first three instances examined above are also basic to the narrative of this Pylos episode. But they are elaborated and ornamented and even augmented by one or two additional elements such as the offering of the hair from the head in association with the prayer. The prayer itself is noticeably brief — just a reported action as in the scene with Odysseus' crew. Perhaps this may be understood in the light of our earlier remarks about the nature of the vow which occasioned this sacrifice; the kudos of the Nestor family would hardly be a suitable subject for an elaborated prayer in direct speech at this point.

This preliminary section of the theme is then summed up, as in the other instances, with αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ᾿ εὔξαντο καὶ οὐλοχύτας προβάλοντο (3.447), but the ensuing description of the slaughter, expressed simply in the other instances by καὶ ἔσφαξαν, is treated with the expansive touch by describing in some detail not only the slaughter of the animal itself but the part played in the scene by the onlookers. The flaying (καὶ ἔδειραν) appears to be paralleled here by αἶψ᾿ ἄρα μιν διέχευαν.[31]

The linguistic parallel with the other instances begins to reestablish itself with 3.456–457, . . . ἄφαρ δ᾿ ἐκ μηρία τάμνον / πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν . . . (cf. μηροῦς τ᾿ ἐξέταμον . . . *Iliad* 1.460, 2.423, *Odyssey* 12.360), while the half-line formula which follows completes the process, . . . κατά τε κνίσῃ ἐκάλυψαν (*Iliad* 1.460, 2.423, *Odyssey* 12.360, 3.457). From this point the instance follows the common pattern until the breaking-off point of *Odyssey* 12.339–398 — καὶ ἀμφ᾿ ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν — five lines later. On the basis of the other three instances we might have expected a variable section after ὠμοθέτησαν, but in fact the Pylos instance follows verbatim the two equivalent lines of the first instance

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[31] A very similar phrase also occurs at *Od.* 14.427 after ἔσφαξαν, while δέρον and διέχευαν are associated at *Od.* 19.421 and *Il.* 7.316 in a similar position in the theme; so that there is clearly a close association in the use of ἔδειραν and διέχευαν. Accordingly, in the Pylos instance (*Od.* 3.418ff) the apparent substitution of the one for the other within an expansive sequence of verses is not so irregular as might first appear.

in the *Iliad* (1.462–463), which, in terms of the inclusion or non-inclusion of a libations element would make *Iliad* 2.402–432 the suspect instance, a most unlikely conclusion in the face of the other compelling evidence of similarity. As it is, this five-line verbatim parallel with the first instance in the *Iliad* (*Odyssey* 3.458–462 = *Iliad* 1.461–465) merely strengthens the claim of the Pylos instance to be of the same authorship.

What follows in the Pylos scene is particularly interesting. Contrary to the pattern of the two instances in the *Iliad*, a unique verse — ὤπτων δ' ἀκροπόρους ὀβελοὺς ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες — follows ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν. The clue to this departure from the norm lies at *Odyssey* 12.365, where this latter phrase marks the point at which the theme is interrupted by the demands of the particular context. And, indeed, it provides a good point on which the theme can be suspended since, with the meat on the spits, the meal is left, as it were, in the process of being cooked, whereas the next whole line as it occurs in the two instances in the *Iliad* is one of transition, with its ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα implying the beginning of the actual serving and eating, and its ὤπτησαν (or ὤπτησε, ὀπτήσας, *Iliad* 9.215 and *Odyssey* 14.76, respectively) naturally demanding that the poet continue the theme without delay. Here in the Pylos instance the poet has obviously felt that the guest of honour, Telemachus, has been forgotten so that subsequently he digresses with a description of the young hero bathing, being clothed, and sitting down, all according to a regular pattern seen elsewhere.[32] It is quite probably with this need for a digression turning over in his mind that he suddenly finds himself beginning, as at *Iliad* 1.466 and 2.429 where there is no interruption to the theme, ὤπτησάν τε περιφραδέως, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα. Particularly not wishing to use the latter part of the verse he converts ὤπτ . . . into a more convenient imperfect; and, probably influenced by the earlier ἔχον πεμπώβολα χερσίν, comes out with the whole verse as we have it.[33]

Having brought Telemachus onto the scene with sufficient flourish, the poet returns our focus to the food itself. He resumes with a formula — οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ ὤπτησαν κρέ' ὑπέρτερα καὶ ἐρύσαντο (*Odyssey* 3.65, 3.470, 20.279) — which is clearly designed to perform the same function as ὤπτησάν τε περιφραδέως, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα (*Iliad* 1.466, 2.429, 7.318, 24.624, *Odyssey* 14.431) but which has additional suitability for this

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[32] Cf. *Od.* 4.43–50, 5.96–100, 224–250, 8.450–470, 10.358–372, 449–452, 17.85–95, 24.361–386. *Il.* 10.572–579.

[33] ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντες is paralleled at *Il.* 18.551 and 23.114. Cf. also 4.533, 5.574, 9.86, *Od.* 4.300, 7.339, 8.372, etc.

kind of situation where the theme proper is being resumed after digression: first, it begins with appropriate link words to effect the necessary change of focus and subject, and second, it provides an explicit object for the verb. The verse occurs in a similar position — after a digression — earlier in book 3 and again in book 20, in descriptions of meals of another type. Finally, a simple expression of eating is followed by the serving of wine and a common transitional formula (3.471–473), all in accordance with the normal pattern of the other *Iliad* and *Odyssey* instances examined above.

Despite its considerable elaboration, then, particularly earlier in the theme, 3.418–473 adheres to the pattern of the other instances at all points, structurally, elementally, and linguistically, and where there is linguistic "modification" it is always such as is demanded by the peculiar circumstances of this instance of the theme.

Iliad 7.314–323 continues the observed pattern, but on a comparatively reduced scale. We have noted the parallel with *Iliad* 2.402–403 (and compare *Odyssey* 13.24–25) of the opening lines, 7.134–315. With the preliminaries, including the throat-cutting, confined to this barest of statements, the instance continues with the next appropriate element of the regular pattern, expressed in the formula, τὸν δέρον ἀμφί θ᾽ ἕπον, κάι μιν διέχευαν ἄπαντα (7.316).[34]

The sacrificial elements — preparation and burning of thighbones, the libations, and roasting entrails and tasting thereof — are all omitted, the familiar pattern being resumed with (7.317–318):

μίστυλλόν τ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἐπισταμένως πεῖραν τ᾽ ὀβελοῖσιν,
ὄπτησάν τε περιφραδέως, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα.

Again the first of these verses is not arbitrarily different from what we have noted so far for the expression of this idea in this portion of the theme, namely, μίστυλλόν τ᾽ ἄρα τἆλλα καὶ ἀμφ᾽ ὀβελοῖσιν ἔπειραν. It is also to be found at *Iliad* 24.623, a meal not dealt with here, and at *Odyssey* 19.422, where its use in each case is accounted for quite simply. The immediately precedent context precludes the meaningful use of τἆλλα. The narrative in all three cases has omitted reference to the sacrificial elements included in the fuller versions, and it is with this reference that τἆλλα is employed.

The instance closes regularly (compare especially *Iliad* 1.467–469, 2.430–432; also *Odyssey* 16.478–480) with αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα (7.319), followed by a common eating expression

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[34] Cf. above, n. 31.

which gives way to a "chine" element (compare the serving of the wine in the same position in the theme at *Odyssey* 3.471–472):

νώτοισιν (δ' Αἴαντα) διηνεκέεσσι γέραιρεν   (*Iliad* 7.321)
               (δ' 'Οδυσῆα)   (*Odyssey* 14.437)

The normal transitional formula completes the instance.

Thus, although in this case the theme is brief, it still follows closely the pattern of elements and language observed in more elaborate instances.

Our last example of this theme, *Odyssey* 19.418–425 is even briefer. The bull having been led in (19.420; compare *Iliad* 7.314–315), the account follows the *Iliad* instance just examined for two and a half verses (19.421–423, *Iliad* 7.316–318):

τὸν δέρον ἀμφί θ' ἕπον, καί μιν διέχευαν ἅπαντα,
μίστυλλόν τ' ἄρ' ἐπισταμένως πεῖράν τ' ὀβελοῖσιν,
ὤπτησάν τε περιφραδέως . . . .

But whereas in the *Iliad* instance the poet continues with the usual second half-line formula, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα, and then the ending just noted, beginning αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο . . ., in the instance from the *Odyssey* he seems to be in a hurry to move on and completes the line with an expression of serving portions, possibly influenced, too, by those meals, of which there is a predominance in the *Odyssey*, where the weight of the description is upon the serving and apportioning of the meal rather than the preparation and cooking of the food.[35] A similar pattern occurs in *Odyssey* 14.72–113 (in Eumaeus' hut), where we find ὀπτήσας δ' ἄρα πάντα φέρων παρέθηκ' 'Οδυσῆϊ (14.76), and in *Iliad* 9.199–222 (the embassy to Achilles' hut), αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ὤπτησε καὶ εἰν ἐλεοῖσιν ἔχευε (9.215). Obviously an expression of the ὤπτησαν type is an important pivot in a theme which includes preparation and cooking of the food, since in it these elements are given their most basic statement; and because of its tense it is a point of transition into the final section of the theme. It is not surprising, therefore, that in the particular instance under examination ὤπτησάν τε περιφραδέως remains (19.423), whereas its common complement, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα, belonging essentially to the next section of the theme, is here replaced with a stroke of economy by δάσσαντό τε μοίρας.

[35] Cf. *Od.* 1.109–152, 4.43–69, 7.162–177, 10.348–387, 15.76–143, 17.84–99; 4.3–19, 6.209–250, 8.469–485, 16.1–55, 17.256–260, 326–335, 336–359, 602–606.

The final section of the instance (19.423–425),

> . . . . `. δάσσαντό τε μοίρας.`
> `ὣς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα`
> `δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐΐσης,`

is given minimal expression and even lacks a transitional formula to round it off. The inclusion of 19.425 might suggest that the language should have been more specifically that of *Iliad* 1.467–469 and 2.430–432:

> `αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα,`
> `δαίνυντ', οὐδέ τι θυμὸς ἐδεύετο δαιτὸς ἐΐσης.`
> `αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἕντο . . .`[36]

Two main factors have probably influenced the composition here. First, there is the resemblance of the context (the story of the visit of Odysseus to Autolycus, in itself of minor importance) to a camping-out type of situation in which the themes of crew's meal and sleeping would be appropriate.[37] In this case 19.424 (followed, however, by `ἥμεθα δαινύμενοι κρέα τ' ἄσπετα καὶ μέθυ ἡδύ`) would be an appropriate formula. Second, there is the desire for economy, which would probably bring into the forefront of the poet's mind the forthcoming elements of darkness and sleep (in each case a crew's-meal theme is followed by one of sleeping). Accordingly, 19.424 replaces a rather expansive `αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ παύσαντο πόνου τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα` . . . Through the subtle processes of thematic composition the poet anticipates the sunset and then effects a smooth and economic transition into his next theme which is, in fact, one of sleeping.

This completes our analysis of the feast theme. Despite varying degrees of elaboration we have been able to trace in these instances a regular structure which links them all with the basic patterns of *Iliad* 1.447–474 and 2.402–432, the first examples examined. Certain elements form a fairly rigid skeleton: a prayer is offered; the victim is slaughtered, flayed, sliced, spitted, roasted, and drawn off the spits or served; a brief expression of eating then precedes a formula of transition into the next theme. Other elements tend to be less stable, although when they do occur they do so in a regular position in the theme. Such

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[36] Cf. also 7.319–323 and *Od*. 16.478–480. The combination of 19.424 and 425 does occur also at *Il*. 1.601–602.

[37] Crew's meal: *Od*. 9.161–165, 9.556–557, 10.183–184, 475–477, 12.28–30. Sleeping: *Od*. 4.429–431, 4.574–576, 9.150–152, 168–170, 558–560, 10.185–187, 478–479, 12.31–32, 17.480–481, 19.426–428, *Il*. 1.475–477, 7.482–8.1, 9.713.

are those elements connected with sacrificial ritual, as, at the beginning of the theme, standing around the altar, handwashing, and the use of barley grains, or, between the elements of flaying and slicing, the burning of thighbones, pouring of libations, and the tasting of entrails. Some elements, especially in the details of the preparation of the meat, are given highly consistent expression, often in substantial blocks of formulas. Where "modification" is apparent we have seen that it is usually in response to the demands of particular contexts (of grammar and subject matter), and, as in the case of the other themes discussed, may usually be accounted for readily on an hypothesis of the oral nature and unity of the texts. Other elements, such as the prayer or the libations, are less firmly delineated and vary from instance to instance. On the Serbo-Croatian model, such a consistent pattern of composition is compelling evidence of common authorship.

Conclusion

We have now looked at three comparable types of scene occurring in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Following Lord and on the basis of the Parry–Lord hypothesis of the oral and traditional nature of the texts, we have called them "themes." The validity of this identification is amply borne out, first, by the way in which the similarity between "instances" of these Homeric "themes" closely parallels the similarity between what we *know* are instances of a Yugoslav singer's themes, and second, by the ease with which we are enabled through the use of this model to describe and account for so many aspects of the material in question. Moreover, we have shown that the "shape" or "norm" of a given theme in the one poem is indistinguishable from that of the comparable theme in the other poem. If, therefore, it is accepted that the texts are the products of oral traditional composition (whatever may be their exact relation to the use of writing), then, as regards the material discussed in this paper, all the evidence points to the conclusion that the two great poems are the work of a single artist — Homer, the poet of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

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ANDROMACHE'S *ANAGNORISIS*:
FORMULAIC ARTISTRY IN *ILIAD* 22.437–476

CHARLES SEGAL

I

TO believe that Homer uses his formulaic language for dramatic and aesthetic effects is slowly ceasing to be heretical. Parry's great contribution, the demonstration of the formulaic quality of Homeric verse, remains assured; but it is becoming equally clear, to quote J. B. Hainsworth, that "the processes of composition are more complex than the pioneers of the subject supposed" and that Homer was capable of "fashioning new diction within the framework of the old."[1] Just how extensive a modification of so-called "traditional" formulas may have taken place in the epics has been emerging from a study like that of Hoekstra,[2] who has shown, on philological and morphological grounds, that the formulaic language of the poems was more flexible, more fluid in its growth, and more subject to the influence of an individual formative genius (i.e. Homer) than Parry supposed.[3]

This reopening of the question of the significance of Parry's work —

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[1] J. B. Hainsworth, "Structure and Content in Epic Formulae: The Question of the Unique Expression," *CQ* n.s. 14 (1964) 164; also his "The Homeric Formula and the Problem of Its Transmission," *BICS* 9 (1962) 57–68, especially 59ff; and now his book, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford 1968). This last reached me only after the completion of my manuscript and hence could not enter into my handling of the scene as fully as it deserved. Milman Parry was not entirely unaware of the possibility of originality and formulaic creativeness in Homer (e.g., "Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making, I, Homer and Homeric Style," *HSCP* 41 [1930] 147), but dismissed the idea rather cursorily. See also n. 3 below and Hainsworth, *Flexibility*, 12–13.

[2] A. Hoekstra, *Homeric Modifications of Formulaic Prototypes* (Amsterdam 1965). See the valuable review by J. A. Russo, *AJP* 88 (1967) 340–346, and esp. 343 for Hoekstra's reexaminations of Parry's basic assumptions.

[3] One need scarcely point out that Parry's views were still in the process of development at the time of his premature death. Though his emphasis obviously lay elsewhere, he occasionally observed significant departure from formulaic patterns: see *Les formules et la métrique d'Homère* (Paris 1928) 64 and *L'épithète traditionnelle chez Homère* (Paris 1928) 205–206 on *Il.* 1.10 and 20 and *Od.* 22.18. For Parry's development see Hoekstra (preceding note) 8–12.

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the question, essentially, of the implications of the formulaic character of Homeric language — raises, of course, the question of the nature of Homer's artistry (assuming, as we do, that artistry exists). We propose to approach this question by assessing, in a limited passage, the significance of Homer's nonformulaic language and his freedom within the bounds of his formulaic medium. This approach is far from new and has been receiving renewed attention in the work of Edwards, Adam Parry, Russo, and others.[4] Hainsworth, too, has urged our recognition of those places "where the poet is not using his material in the most typical way and where in consequence his creative faculties have most need of exercise."[5]

Andromache's recognition of Hector's fate at the end of *Iliad* 22 is one such passage. The analysis here undertaken will concern itself with the following issues: (1) variation from (or modification of) existing formulas; (2) the use of nonformulaic language; (3) the local significance, if any, of familiar and common formulas; (4) the reference to other parts of the poem through significant repetitions.

These are complex matters, and other critics may assess certain aspects of this passage differently. Such range of difference will exist in the study of any complex poem. It is precisely Parry's concentration on the elements which by their nature are of low expressive value which enabled him to describe so successfully the narrowly functional aspect of the formula as a metrical convenience. Once we leave the realm of the denotative and the functional, however, we are in deeper waters. The invariable, nonconnotative, nonexpressive noun-epithet formula and similar kinds of formula are essential elements in Homer's style.

[4] M. W. Edwards, "Some Stylistic Notes on *Iliad* XVIII," *AJP* 89 (1968) 257–283 and "Some Features of Homeric Craftsmanship," *TAPA* 97 (1966) 115–179; Adam Parry, "Have We Homer's *Iliad?*" *YCS* 20 (1966) 177–216, esp. 191–201; T. G. Rosenmeyer, "The Formula in Early Greek Poetry," *Arion* 4 (1965) 293–311; J. A. Russo, "Homer Against His Tradition," *Arion* 7 (1968) 275–295. M. Van der Valk, "The Formulaic Character of Homeric Poetry," *AC* 35 (1966) 5–70, esp. 48–53, notes some possibly significant departure from formulaic language and suggests (55) that in the meetings between Thetis and Achilles, Priam and Helen, Glaucus and Diomedes, Homer has deliberately curtailed the formulaic element in his language "in order to render better the intimate and personal character of these scenes;" but this formulation seems to conceive of the formulaic system in too negative terms, as a liability rather than a fact of life for the poet. See also C. M. Bowra, "Style," in Wace and Stubbings, edd., *A Companion to Homer* (London 1962) 33.

[5] Hainsworth, "Structure and Content" (above, n. 1) 162; see also Russo (above, n. 4) passim, esp. 280 and 294, and Hainsworth, *Flexibility* (above, n. 1) 110–113.

But we need not therefore blind ourselves to every other kind of utterance in the poems.

II

The opening of our passage (22.437–438),

> ὣς ἔφατο κλαίουσ', ἄλοχος δ' οὔ πώ τι πέπυστο
> Ἕκτορος· οὐ γάρ οἵ τις ἐτήτυμος ἄγγελος ἐλθών . . .,

prepares us for a scene of ritualized lamentation. In the scene immediately preceding (405 ff), Hecuba tears her hair and throws off her garments, Priam rolls in the dung, and the people of Troy wail in sorrow. Phrases like κώκυσεν (407), ὤμωξεν δ' ἐλεεινά (408), κωκυτῷ τ' εἴχοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ (409) open the way for the dirge-like speeches to follow. Priam's speech (416–428) closes with the expected formulaic line (429), ὣς ἔφατο κλαίων, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο πολῖται. Hecuba, in the next line, "began the shrill cry of grief among the Trojan women." It is directly upon Hecuba's brief lament (431–436) that our scene follows.

In a less imaginative poet we might have had Andromache's lament at once, preceded by a formula of lamentation such as occurs in 429, "So he (she) spoke lamenting, and the citizens groaned in response." Such a formula does, in fact, close Andromache's speech, and the episode, in a characteristic ring-form: "So she spoke lamenting, and the women groaned in response" (22.515). The lament for Hector which concludes the *Iliad* takes exactly this form: a series of dirges separated by stylized, formulaic lines:

They lamented, and the women groaned in response.
And among them white-armed Andromache began the cry of grief.
(24.722–723).

So she spoke lamenting, and the women groaned in response.
And among them Hecuba began the shrill cry of grief.
(24.746–747).

So she spoke lamenting, and stirred up the unceasing cry of grief;
And then Helen, the third, began the cry of grief.
(24.760–761).

So she spoke lamenting, and the populace, vast in number, moaned in response.
(24.776).

The individual sufferer's expression of sorrow is answered by an echo affirming the participation by the community in suffering and loss:

". . . and the women (citizens, people) groaned in response." In these cases the recurrent formula serves, as the formula sometimes does, to stress the ritual quality of such scenes and to make them appear more fateful, more solemn.[6] Such dirges may well have been a familiar experience of Homer's society (cf. the Linus song of 18.569–571 and the role of the bards at Hector's funeral, 24.720–723) and seem to have held the imagination of the painters of the contemporary geometric urns. In any case, they are a familiar feature of a poem where death is ever-present (see 19.301, 338; 23.17 = 22.430).

In our passage, lines 429–430 are the familiar formulas of such shared grief. The lines are fully appropriate as a stylized transition between two laments, those of Priam and Hecuba. When we come to Andromache at line 437, we are prepared for another such formulaic transition and another such lament. But Homer frustrates this expectation. Instead of a series of successive and continuous lamentations, as in 24.722–776, he devotes nearly forty lines to Andromache's initial apprehension of the situation. This interruption of a potentially smooth sequence of *threnoi* is signaled by a break in the formulaic movement of the first line of the passage, 437. This line begins with the formulaic ὣς ἔφατο κλαίουσ(α), as does 429 or 515. But it changes at the caesura to a nonformulaic phrase which continues with the harsh and emphatic enjambement of "Hector" into the next line: ἄλοχος δ᾽ οὔ πώ τι πέπυστο / Ἕκτορος.

Formula and narrative structure here work in close cooperation. One can easily imagine Andromache present on the wall all along, standing beside Hecuba, pulling her hair, and shrieking in fear and entreaty. There is even legitimate cause for surprise that some "truthful messenger" should not have bothered to inform her sooner than lines 438–439. The poet who has so artfully had her come out upon the wall for the poignant scene of book 6 has had to find a special explanation (440–444) for her absence at a much more critical juncture of events. To this point we shall return later.

Yet Andromache's present ignorance is not simply one of Homer's nods. By keeping her unaware of the situation, Homer gains a scene of extraordinary dramatic power, an *anagnorisis* that might be worthy of

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[6] See C. Segal, "Transition and Ritual in Odysseus' Return," *PP* fasc. 116 (1967) 321–342, esp. 322–323, 342. For the ritual quality of the lament in book 22 see also P. von der Mühll, *Kritisches Hypomnema zur Ilias* (*SchweizBeitrAlt* 4, Basel 1952) 344.

Aristotle's praise.[7] The abrupt break in an anticipated formulaic structure — the ritualized, formulaically marked transitions between successive lamentations — forms a linguistic preparation for this moving scene.

By so withholding Andromache's lament until line 476, Homer accomplishes two specific purposes. First, he gives her grief a special prominence, a prominence which book 6 has both justified and rendered necessary. Second, he avoids too obvious an anticipation of the similar threnodic scene in book 24. He reserves for the end of the poem that more stylized, more ritualized, and hence more solemn effect. The full diapason of a communal dirge led by the chief figures on the Trojan side makes a powerful closing scene and satisfies, at least minimally, our desire to abide longer with Hector, to feel that his death has some meaning and a more than usual magnitude. Here in book 22 the agony of loss still has its rawest edges. We are kept as closely as possible to the shock and horror of the event. Accordingly, the structure is less symmetrical, more angular; and the language too veers sharply and suddenly away from the grooves of formulaic expectation.

III

Not only does the nonformulaic second half of 437 interrupt the threnodic sequence described above; it also gives a special prominence to the word ἄλοχος. To be sure, ἄλοχος, after the masculine (or B_1) caesura[8] is common, both in the nominative (6.337) and other cases (9.399, 11.242, 13.626, etc.); but it is not here part of any familiar formulaic phrase.[9] Andromache is introduced as "wife." Indeed, she is not referred to by name throughout the entire passage. Her personal identity is defined by her status as "Hector's wife." And it is precisely in this role that, after father and mother, she laments the fallen warrior.

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[7] See *Poetics* 1452a22–b8. Though referring to drama, remarks such as the following might be extrapolated, *mutatis mutandis*, for our scene of the epic (1452a29–33): ἀναγνώρισις δέ, ὥσπερ καὶ τοὔνομα σημαίνει, ἐξ ἀγνοίας εἰς γνῶσιν μεταβολή, ἢ εἰς φιλίαν ἢ εἰς ἔχθραν, τῶν πρὸς εὐτυχίαν ἢ δυστυχίαν ὡρισμένων· καλλίστη δὲ ἀναγνώρισις, ὅταν ἅμα περιπετείᾳ γένηται, οἷον ἔχει ἡ ἐν τῷ Οἰδίποδι.

[8] For the now familiar terminology see H. N. Porter, "The Early Greek Hexameter," *YCS* 12 (1951) 3–63; but see Hainsworth, *Flexibility* (above, n.1) 20.

[9] On the question of regarding an expression like ἄλοχος as "formulaic," see Hoekstra (above, n. 2) 14 with n. 3 and 20–24 and Hainsworth, *Flexibility* (above, n. 1) 18–19; but see Russo's review of Hoekstra (above, n. 2) 345.

As ἄλοχος, she sees his death as the collapse of her own life, the destruction of her identity, her social position in a highly formalized society. Hence later in this same passage she tears off her wedding gifts (468–472) and subsequently laments her son's loss of status (496–501). The two gestures complement one another. Hector's death blights both wifehood and motherhood, both past joy and future hope. The opening ἄλοχος quietly defines that secure life which, in the gestures of 468–472 and the subsequent speech, virtually dissolves before our eyes.

The closing lines of her second speech (509–514) spread the devastation even to the small, private details of her wifely role. Thinking of the stripped body, she remembers the clothes lying useless in his halls (509). They would naturally fall under her tendance as wife. The phrase τετυγμένα χερσὶ γυναικῶν (511) recalls a related task, a task in fact alluded to at line 440 of our passage ἀλλ' ἥ γ' ἱστὸν ὕφαινε. These clothes she will burn (512), thus destroying one of the parts of her past life, one of those external attributes of her role as ἄλοχος.

The emphasis on ἄλοχος here is resumed two lines later when Hector is referred to as πόσις. Like ἄλοχος, this word is not part of a formula and contributes its independent weight to the narrative situation: Andromache's special relation to Hector. In book 24, where this relation entitles her to first place among his mourners, her opening word is the stark ἆνερ, "husband" (24.725).

The phrase ἔκτοθι μίμνε πυλάων in 439 occurs only here (ἔκτοθι itself occurs in only one other passage: 15.391). The word πυλάων forms a common formulaic line-ending, but it is generally preceded by πρό or προπάροιθε.[10] The unique expression here may have a special appropriateness to its context. We have just experienced the consequences of Hector's self-exclusion from the safety of the gates and the town. It was his recklessly brave decision, typical of his flashes of bright, rash hope,[11] to *wait* and *remain* outside the gates. Ἔκτοθι μίμνε πυλάων in

[10] So 6.307 and 22.35. There is an interesting example of the variation of this formula in 12.131: the sons of the Lapiths, Polypoetes and Leonteus, stand before the gates: τὰ μὲν ἄρα προπάροιθε πυλάων ὑψηλάων / ἕστασαν ... The lengthened phrase (instead of the line-ending προπάροιθε πυλάων as in 6.307 and 22.35) is perhaps used because of the importance and the heroic tone of this encounter and also because ὑψικάρηνοι ends the next line (12.132). The phrase of 12.131 is another violation of the "law" of economy. On the general subject of the extension or expansion of formulas see Hainsworth, *Flexibility* (above, n. 1) chap. 6.

[11] For Hector's delusions see Cedric H. Whitman, *Homer and the Heroic Tradition* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1958) 209ff; Wolfgang Schadewaldt, "Hektors Tod," in *Von Homers Welt und Werk*³ (Stuttgart 1959) 302–303.

439, therefore, reminds us of this key point in a crucial narrative — a point of which Andromache has been totally unaware. In 22.33ff Priam and Hecuba entreated their son to return to the city. Priam begs (22.38–39),

> Ἕκτορ, μή μοι μίμνε, φίλον τέκος, ἀνέρα τοῦτον
> οἶος ἄνευθ' ἄλλων, ἵνα μὴ τάχα πότμον ἐπίσπῃς ...

But Hector holds firm (22.35–36):

> ὁ δὲ προπάροιθε πυλάων
> ἑστήκει, ἄμοτον μεμαὼς Ἀχιλῆϊ μάχεσθαι.

Later in 236–237 Hector thanked Deiphobus (Athena in disguise) for venturing *outside* the walls while the others remained *within*:

> ... ὃς ἔτλης ἐμεῦ εἴνεκ', ἐπεὶ ἴδες ὀφθαλμοῖσι,
> τείχεος ἐξελθεῖν, ἄλλοι δ' ἔντοσθε μένουσι.

The unique expression μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο of 440[12] continues this contrast between the fateful exposure of Hector and the enclosed, sheltered world of Andromache, now, however, also brutally opened to the harshness of war. The two nonformulaic expressions, ἔκτοθι μίμνε πυλάων and μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο, unite warrior and wife as the two poles of a single tragic situation.

In stressing the fact that Andromache is deep within the interior of the palace, the phrase μυχῷ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο has a further relevance. It contrasts with the scene in book 6 which is obviously much in the poet's mind throughout this passage. There Hector finds Andromache not in the palace, as he expected (6.371; also οὐκ ἔνδον, 6.374), but out on the windy, exposed tower. Both husband and wife meet here at a point of heightened awareness of the fate which lies inexorably before them. The tower on which they stand, their child between them, itself embodies the dark force of war which in our passage finally severs their relationship. Hector does not long maintain that momentary ray of truthful insight, "I know it full well in my mind and heart: there will come a day when holy Ilium shall perish and Priam and the people of Priam of the good ash spear" (6.447–449). Nor does Andromache retain the despairing truth of 6.495–502: "They no longer thought that he would come back again from battle" (501–502). In book 6 she ventured forth on the tower; but now, when Hector is in mortal danger,

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12 Μυχῷ itself, however, in this position followed by the genitive is common: 9.663, 17.36, 24.675.

she remains within the μυχός of the palace and prepares a bath for his return.[13]

It is part of the same tragic inversion that in book 6 Andromache involves herself in the maneuvers on the field deeply enough to incur the reproach of Hector (6.432–441 and 492–493). But here in book 22 she not only remains by her loom but weaves flowers into the design (441). In these "varied flowers" — θρόνα ποικίλ(α), a phrase which occurs only here — unique, nonformulaic language is again used for special emphasis. The flowers suggest the season of new life and rebirth (cf. 6.148, ἔαρος δ᾽ ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη) just when Andromache sees before her death and blasted hopes.

Homer has another reason for individualizing the weaving with the vivid detail of 441. The detail not only reflects upon the domestic happiness of normal wifehood; it also shows us one of Andromache's wifely virtues, namely her obedience to her husband, but at the moment when she is to see this side of her life wiped out. Hector's last words to her (6.490–493) were instructions to go within the house, attend to her weaving, and bid her maids get about their work, leaving war to the men. His injunction of 6.491–492, ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε / ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι, is echoed in her own happy command of 22.442:

κέκλετο δ᾽ ἀμφιπόλοισιν ἐϋπλοκάμοις κατὰ δῶμα
ἀμφὶ πυρὶ στῆσαι τρίποδα μέγαν . . .

The weaving of 441 recalls another important scene in the *Iliad*. Early in book 3, just before the duel between Paris and Menelaus, Iris, in the guise of Laodice, finds Helen at her loom (3.125–127):

τὴν δ᾽ εὗρ᾽ ἐν μεγάρῳ· ἡ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὕφαινε,
δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ᾽ ἐνέπασσεν ἀέθλους
Τρώων θ᾽ ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων.

Δίπλακα πορφυρέην occurs only in these two passages. The situations as well as the language are parallel. Both women weave while their men fight for their lives. But Homer never takes Paris seriously as a warrior (compare the simile of 6.506ff after the tragic scene on the tower), nor does his duel with Menelaus have the tense atmosphere of Hector's. His woman, calmer, more remote, less deeply involved (compare her nostalgia for her distant home and past life in 3.139–140), can weave into

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[13] U. von Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916) 321, though he thought books 6 and 22 were by different poets, remarked, "So hat es jeder fühlende Leser gefordert und eben deshalb beide Szenen in Verbindung gesetzt, unwillkürlich, auch wenn er sich gestand, dass sie nicht demselben Dichter gehören."

her embroidery scenes of the war itself. For Andromache, however, the battle scenes are not reducible to art. They are too much a part of a terrible present which can be met frontally only at rare moments of soul-shaking courage, moments like the scene on the tower in book 6. Her embroidery, therefore, contains the symbols of the life and hope which the gods deny. It constitutes an internal or private equivalent of the two springs of 22.147–156: a momentary glimpse of a normal, life-filled world by those under sentence of death.

From 442 to 444 the language is more heavily formulaic. The formulas of household duties up to the first half of 444 suggest something of the peace and comfort conferred by the ministrations of these simple routines. But the momentary calm of these lines is shattered by formulas from a very different area of life, the ominous νηπίη, οὐδ᾽ ἐνόησεν of 445 and δάμασε γλαυκῶπις ᾿Αθήνη of 446. It is at this point that the two opposed realms, war and Peace, the sheltered world of women and the martial violence of heroes, now meet.

The language of 444–445 is formulaic, but the formulas here too have an expressive function and enhance the dramatic force of the passage. The formulaic μάχης ἒκ νοστήσαντι is used mainly of warriors who do *not* return (5.157 and twice again of Hector: see below).[14] It may be more than accident that the formula is used in the prophecy of Zeus (fulfilled in fact in book 22) which was spoken as Hector donned Achilles' armor (17.206–208):

ἀτάρ τοι νῦν γε μέγα κράτος ἐγγυαλίξω
τῶν ποινὴν ὅ τοι οὔ τι μάχης ἒκ νοστήσαντι
δέξεται ᾿Ανδρομάχη κλυτὰ τεύχεα Πηλεΐωνος.

This passage is all the more relevant, for it makes explicit mention of Andromache's not "receiving" her husband (17.208). It thus points back to 6.499–502 (see above) and forward to our passage. It is also one of the three passages outside of book 6 where Andromache is mentioned by name.

Still another instance of the formula μάχης ἒκ νοστήσαντι sheds light on our passage. In book 24 Priam arrives with Hector's body; and Cassandra, the first to see them, cries out (24.704–706):

ὄψεσθε, Τρῶες καὶ Τρωάδες, ῞Εκτορ᾽ ἰόντες,
εἴ ποτε καὶ ζώοντι μάχης ἒκ νοστήσαντι
χαίρετ᾽, ἐπεὶ μέγα χάρμα πόλει τ᾽ ἦν παντί τε δήμῳ.

[14] It is interesting that the participle νοστήσας (in a variety of expressions) is elsewhere frequently used of Achilles' sad "not returning" (18.60, 90, 238, 330, 441; 23.145), thus linking Hector and Achilles in a common tragic fate. See also 4.103 = 121, 5.157 and 687 (other warriors); 13.38 (Poseidon's horses).

There is a typical Homeric pathos, calm but powerful, in Cassandra's allusion to the joyful reception ($\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\rho\epsilon\tau(\epsilon)$, $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\mu\alpha$) of the returning warrior; Hector's "return" is hardly a matter of joy. He returns in a fashion far different from the conquering warrior whom Cassandra envisages.[15]

$N\eta\pi\acute{\iota}\eta$, $o\mathring{\upsilon}\delta$' $\mathring{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ in 445 is an instance of a common formula which derives a special point from the context. It is the only example in the narrative portion of the *Iliad* of the formulaic $\nu\acute{\eta}\pi\iota\sigma$ in the feminine.[16] The phrase is regularly used in situations of overconfident, happy boldness, and commonly of the warrior in battle. Hitherto Andromache has not appeared as especially sanguine. We last saw her raising the wail of mourning for Hector, alive though he was (6.499–502). Hence this formulaic expression in 445 contains another reversal of her courageous realism of book 6.

$N\eta\pi\acute{\iota}\eta$, $o\mathring{\upsilon}\delta$' $\mathring{\epsilon}\nu\acute{o}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ has a further relevance to the present context. It is a climactic point in a slow development of the theme of learning or recognizing throughout book 22. A bit earlier Hector has "learned" ($\mathring{\epsilon}\gamma\nu\omega$, 296) the fatal deception of Athena. Just before his death he "learns" ($\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\acute{\omega}\sigma\kappa\omega\nu$, 356) the true character and intent of Achilles. In this scene, in fact, Achilles boastfully uses the formulaic $\nu\acute{\eta}\pi\iota\epsilon$ to his fallen antagonist (333). The formulaic line of Andromache's happy ignorance in 445, then, serves both to point back to that earlier scene of heavily accepted knowledge in book 6 and to draw her experience of tragic "learning" closer to Hector's within book 22.

Line 445, however, ends with the nonformulaic $\tau\mathring{\eta}\lambda\epsilon$ $\lambda o\epsilon\tau\rho\mathring{\omega}\nu$, which contrasts with the formulaic evocation of comfort in the $\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\grave{\alpha}$ $\lambda o\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}$ of the preceding line. The hopefulness of the latter phrase is now corrected by the comfortless reality of the former. The familiar, formulaic rituals of the bath are not to be performed. One may recall another somber postponement of a ritual, Hector's refusal to pour a libation in 6.266–268. The contrast between $\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\grave{\alpha}$ $\lambda o\epsilon\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}$ and $\tau\mathring{\eta}\lambda\epsilon$ $\lambda o\epsilon\tau\rho\mathring{\omega}\nu$ also resumes in different terms the basic contrast between inner and outer, safety and exposure, developed in 439–440. This contrast, in turn, is part of a larger contrast pervading the entire epic: city and battlefield, civilized humanity and the savagery of Achilles now raging unchecked outside the gates.

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[15] Contrast the more elaborate use of a similar idea in Aeschyl. *Ag.* 437–444.

[16] The only other occurrence of $\nu\acute{\eta}\pi\iota\sigma$ in the feminine in the *Iliad* also comes at a moment of exceptional pathos and emotional intensity, namely in Achilles' simile in his address to Patroclus, 16.8.

IV

The confrontation between war and peace, battles and domesticity, in the language of 440–446 is reflected in a number of interesting variations upon familiar formulas in the ensuing lines. Several expressions in these lines are formulas familiar from martial episodes, but they are now used not of a wounded warrior, but of a grief-stricken wife. We may add here also the νηπίη οὐδ' ἐνόησεν of 445, discussed above.

The first half of 448, τῆς δ' ἐλελίχθη γυῖα, is unique. The verb ἐλελίχθη (usually in the plural) frequently describes troops wheeling about in battle.[17] It is used also of a spear quivering in the ground (13.558), of the twisting of a snake (11.39), and of the shaking of Olympus (1.530, 8.199). In the *Odyssey* the verb describes a ship hit by lightning (12.416, 14.306) or a huge wave breaking against the raft (5.314). In all these cases it is used of violent, indeed elemental actions. To apply it to a woman is a bold stroke. We have here an example of Homer using a verb in a new sense when he wishes to convey an extraordinary degree of emotional intensity. Since most of the occurrences of the verb in the *Iliad* describe warriors in action, the transference to Andromache is all the more remarkable.

The second half of 448, χαμαὶ δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε κερκίς, is also unique, but it is built from two common formulas,[18] which we may label for convenience types A and B:

A. θαλερὸν δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε δάκρυ

B. {νεκρὸς / τόξον} δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός.

Type A is syntactically closer to our line: the subject comes at the end and a descriptive word at the beginning. Metrically, however, type B is closer; but it has the subject at the beginning and a genitive at the end (there exists also a third formula, εὐεργέος ἔκπεσε δίφρου [5.585 = 13.399], and a variant on type B in a line like 3.363, τριχθά τε καὶ τετραχθὰ διατρυφὲν ἔκπεσε χειρός). Type B, however, is the most relevant here. It regularly occurs in martial situations. In the *Iliad* the formula occurs only with τόξον (8.329, 15.465), νεκρός (4.493), and δαλός (15.421) as subjects; in the *Odyssey*, with δέπας (22.17), σκῆπτρον

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[17] E.g. *Il.* 5.497, 6.106 and 109, 11.214, 17.343.

[18] For the building of such "new" formulas by analogies which sometimes involve "puns" see Parry, *L'épithète traditionnelle* (above, n. 3) 85ff and esp. 91–2; Bowra (above, n. 4) 31–32; M. N. Nagler, "Towards a Generative View of the Oral Formula," *TAPA* 98 (1967) 274ff.

(14.31), and σκῦτος (14.34). The ending of the formulaic half-line, ⏑ — δέ οἱ ἔκπεσε χειρός, offers a clue about the unique phrase of 22.448. It is possible that the similarity of sound between κερκίς and χειρός led to the formation of the new phrase of our passage. By substituting the woman's shuttle for the warrior's hand, Homer creates another brusque confrontation of martial and feminine worlds at a point where that confrontation is dramatically effective.

In the opening lines of Andromache's first, brief speech (450–459) Homer has again introduced extraordinary language to deal adequately with an unusual emotional situation, especially in 451–453:

> . . . ἐν δ' ἐμοὶ αὐτῇ
> στήθεσι πάλλεται ἦτορ ἀνὰ στόμα, νέρθε δὲ γοῦνα
> πήγνυται . . .

We may observe not only the harsh enjambements,[19] but also the unusual use of πάλλεται. Like ἐλελίχθη above, this verb belongs primarily to war. In the active it is used of the hero tossing lots or throwing a spear or stone.[20] In the far less frequent middle, it is used twice of the tossing of lots and once of a warrior tripping on his shield.[21] Nowhere else in Homer does it refer to parts of the human body or have the quasi-metaphorical sense which it has here. The closest analogy occurs in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 293, where Metaneira and her daughters "shake with fear" (δείματι παλλόμεναι) after the goddess appears in her true form.[22] Homer seems to have thought well of his new phrase here in 452, for he uses it again a few lines later (461), παλλομένη κραδίην. A middle or passive present participle running to the A_1 caesura in enjambement is common for many formulas; but the verb here, as in 448, is used in an unusual, unformulaic sense.

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[19] For recent studies of Homeric enjambement see G. S. Kirk, "Studies in Some Technical Aspects of Homeric Style II, Verse-Structure and Sentence-Structure in Homer, *YCS* 20 (1966) 105ff, and esp. Edwards, "Homeric Craftsmanship" (above, n. 4) 122ff.

[20] E.g. 3.316 and 324, 7.181, 23.353 (lots); 5.495, 6.104, 11.212, 16.142 = 19.389 (spear); 5.304 = 12.449 = 20.287 (stone).

[21] The passages are 15.191 and 24.400 (both forms of the present middle participle, as 22.461) of the throwing of lots; 15.645 (πάλτο) of the warrior "tripping." For the problem of the interpretation of the last passage see Walter Leaf, *The Iliad*² (London 1900–1902) ad loc.

[22] *Hom. Hymn to Demeter*, 293, is more likely an imitation of *Il.* 22.452 and 461 than the survival of a traditional formula prior to or contemporary with Homer. On the relatively late dating of the hymn (second quarter of the sixth century B.C.?) I agree with F. R. Walton, "Athens, Eleusis, and the Homeric Hymn to Demeter," *HThR* 45 (1952) 105–124.

The phrase νέρθε δὲ γοῦνα / πήγνυται in 452-453, like the expression just discussed, applies to Andromache language drawn from a martial situation, the warrior striding into battle. The expression νέρθε δὲ ποσσίν, following the C₁ caesura with a verb of motion in the enjambed next line, is fairly common (7.212, 13.78). Here, however, we have not a verb of motion, but a verb of motionlessness: πήγνυται.

Instead of this strained expression of 452-453 we might have expected the common formula (also in martial situations) of "loosing the knees." The formula has occurred shortly before in the book (22.335): γούνατ' ἔλυσα (spoken by Achilles to Hector).[23] More to the point, however, might have been the formula, τῆς (τοῦ) δ' αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατα καὶ φίλον ἦτορ (note ἦτορ in 452). This formula, like its active counterpart, (ὑπὸ) γούνατ' ἔλυσε, can be used of simple physical actions, as when Athena in the *Theomachia* hits Aphrodite (21.424-425). It is also used, however, of strong emotional reactions of shock or grief. It so occurs earlier in book 21 when Lycaon realizes that entreaty of Achilles is futile (21.114). In the *Odyssey* this emotional or psychological use of the formula is the predominant one. The *Odyssey*, in fact, uses this formula of a woman's intense emotion in contexts similar to ours. Penelope's "knees are loosed" when she learns of the suitors' plot against Telemachus (*Odyssey* 4.703) and again when she finally recognizes Odysseus (23.205). Homer repeats the formula for another *anagnorisis*, the scene between Laertes and Odysseus (24.345).[24] In our passage, however, Homer has chosen not to avail himself of a fairly obvious formulaic expedient. Not only is πήγνυται unusual in this sense, but the phrase νέρθε δὲ γοῦνα at the end of 452 is striking. It occurs again in the *Odyssey* and also in a vivid and unusual passage, the grim, surrealistic vision of Theoclymenus among the overweening suitors (20.351-353):

> ἆ δειλοί, τί κακὸν τόδε πάσχετε; νυκτὶ μὲν ὑμέων
> εἰλύαται κεφαλαί τε πρόσωπά τε νέρθε τε γοῦνα,
> οἰμωγὴ δὲ δέδηε, δεδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί.

Even here, however, there is no enjambement, as there is in our passage.

Elsewhere in the *Iliad* πήγνυται is used only of spears fixed in a shield or in the earth.[25] It has so been used shortly before in Hector's last

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[23] For the formula γούνατ' ἔλυσε at the end of the verse, of wounds or blows in battle, see *Il.* 5.176 = 16.425, 11.579 = 17.349, 13.360 and 412, 15.291 etc.

[24] See also *Od* 5.297-298 = 406-407, 22.68 and 147.

[25] E.g. 5.40, 8.258, 10.374, 11.447 and 572, 15.315 and 650, 16.772, 22.276 and 283.

battle (22.276). There might be a parallel for our passage if the reading πῆξε in 14.40 were accepted; but πτῆξε has the overwhelming support of the textual tradition and is preferred by most editors.

Line 454, αἲ γὰρ ἀπ᾽ οὔατος εἴη ἐμεῦ ἔπος, has only one other analogue in the *Iliad*,[26] and once more the context is relevant. Polydamus attempts, in vain, to warn the overconfident Hector (18.270–272):

> ἀσπασίως γὰρ ἀφίξεται Ἴλιον ἱρὴν
> ὅς κε φύγῃ, πολλοὺς δὲ κύνες καὶ γῦπες ἔδονται
> Τρώων· αἲ γὰρ δή μοι ἀπ᾽ οὔατος ὧδε γένοιτο.

The next line of our passage (22.455) uses the formula θρασὺν Ἕκτορα, and the situation has now confirmed the truth of Polydamas' insight and the rightness of the epithet.[27]

The formulaic epithet "bold Hector" has a further and more immediate relevance. The following lines, and especially 458–459, provide a detailed and concrete example of Hector's "boldness," his last:

> καὶ δή μιν καταπαύσῃ ἀγηνορίης ἀλεγεινῆς,
> ἥ μιν ἔχεσκ᾽, ἐπεὶ οὔ ποτ᾽ ἐνὶ πληθυῖ μένεν ἀνδρῶν,
> ἀλλὰ πολὺ προθέεσκε, τὸ ὃν μένος οὐδενὶ εἴκων.

The phrase τὸ ὃν μένος here in 459 takes us back, as so much in this scene does, to Andromache's meeting with Hector in book 6. There she spoke forebodingly of his death and her widowhood (6.407–409):[28]

> δαιμόνιε, φθίσει σε τὸ σὸν μένος, οὐδ᾽ ἐλεαίρεις
> παῖδά τε νηπίαχον καὶ ἔμ᾽ ἄμμορον, ἣ τάχα χήρη
> σεῦ ἔσομαι . . .

Τὸ ὃν μένος of 459, with its evocation of Hector's past daring, forms a strong and dramatic close to Andromache's first speech and prepares an emotional tension for the full recognition soon to come.

Ἀγηνορίης ἀλεγεινῆς in 457 occurs only here, though it is perhaps modeled on ἐπέπαυτ᾽ ἀλεγεινῆς which occurs at the end of the hexameter.[29] The abstract noun ἀγηνορίη is in itself rare. It occurs (im-

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[26] Elsewhere the genitive, οὔατος, occurs in a literal sense only of wounds in or about the ear: 13.177 and 671, 15.433, 16.339 and 606, 17.617, 20.473.

[27] The formula "bold Hector" is usually appropriate to his action in the context (12.60 = 12.210 = 13.725, 22.455, 24.72, and perhaps also 24.786).

[28] Leaf (above, n. 21) ad loc. notes that ἀγηνορίη ἀλεγεινή in 22.457 is an echo of Andromache's "last words to Hector" in 6.407, but he does not note the much more precise echo in 22.459.

[29] *Il.* 18.248, 19.46, 20.43; cf. also 4.99 and 9.546. A final ἀλεγεινῆς is also occasionally preceded by an abstract noun in -ιη or -συνη, as in 22.457: e.g. *Il.* 2.787, 9.491, 15.16, 23.701; *Od.* 3.206, 10.78, 12.226.

mediately after the adjective, ἀγήνωρ, in the previous line) to describe Achilles in 9.700. Especially significant, however, is its one other occurrence in the *Iliad*, 12.46. Here Hector, pressing onward irresistibly to the ships, is likened to a boar or a lion fighting against hopeless odds (12.45–46):

> τοῦ δ' οὔ ποτε κυδάλιμον κῆρ
> ταρβεῖ οὐδὲ φοβεῖται, ἀγηνορίη δέ μιν ἔκτα.

The simile has a tragic appropriateness which extends beyond just the immediate situation, as some of Homer's similes do (see, for example, 18.207ff or 21.522ff). The close of 12.46 is almost Hector's epitaph: ἀγηνορίη δέ μιν ἔκτα.

The first half of 459, ἀλλὰ πολὺ προθέεσκε, is also nonformulaic. Though used here of Hector's bravery in general, it recalls the running of the previous book (compare τυτθὸν ὑπεκπροθέοντα of Apollo, 21.604). It thus intensifies our sympathies for Andromache, who speaks this phrase not knowing how closely her generalization strikes to the truth that we have just had vividly described. Correspondingly, the last half of 458, ἐπεὶ οὔ ποτ' ἐνὶ πληθυῖ μένεν ἀνδρῶν, also a generalization, verges upon an intuitive grasp of the situation which within six lines will have a precise and horrible confirmation in fact. Line 458 not only suggests the actual circumstances which led to Hector's last battle; it also states once more that antithesis between safe enclosure and dangerous exposure implied in 439–440 and, as we have seen, earlier in book 22 as well (note also μίμνε in 439 and see above, p. 39).

Μαινάδι ἴση at the end of 460, though unique, is another modification of a formula which occurs in some of the most intense of the battle scenes, δαίμονι ἶσος (5.438, 459, 884; 16.705, 786; 20.447). Here too the similarity in sound between μαινάδι and δαίμονι may have suggested to the poet the new phrase.[30] The echo of the familiar and ominous δαίμονι ἶσος again juxtaposes Andromache and the situation of warriors. If μαινάδι means "maenad" and not simply "mad woman" (likely, but not absolutely certain),[31] we would have another instance of

[30] One may note the exploitation of a similar word-shape in λαίλαπι ἶσοι, 12.375.

[31] The interpretation of μαινάδι in 22.460 as merely "mad woman," "Rasende," goes back to the Townley Scholia and was supported by C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (1829) 285. It is still maintained by von der Mühll (above, n. 6) p. 345 with n. 77, despite Erwin Rohde, *Psyche*⁸ (Tübingen 1921) II 6, with n. 1, who calls μαινάδι "ja eben noch etwas Anderes und Specielleres als μαινομένη (Z 389)." See also Marbach, "Mainades," *RE* XIV 1 (1928) 561. Note also the reference to the "nurses of the raging (μαινομένοιο) Dionysus" whom Lycurgus chased over Mt. Nysa, *Il.* 6.132–133.

Homer drawing upon a relatively unfamiliar realm of experience for an unusual degree of emotion.

The unusual phrase of 460 is another allusion to book 6. Hector is told that Andromache hastened to the tower μαινομένη ἐϊκυῖα (6.389), and this expression too is unique. It is interesting that the line following upon μαινομένη ἐϊκυῖα in book 6 ends with Hector "rushing out" of the house (ἀπέσσυτο, 6.390). Our line (22.460) has διέσσυτο, in the same metrical position, but referring to Andromache.

Lines 462–463 once more continue to apply the formulas of martial situations to Andromache:

> αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πύργον τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἷξεν ὅμιλον,
> ἔστη παπτήνασ' ἐπὶ τείχεϊ . . .

The latter half of 462 is clearly modeled after δῦναι (καταδῦναι) ὅμιλον, common in the battle scenes.[32] Ἔστη παπτήνασ(α) has no such close formulaic model,[33] though various forms of the verb παπταίνω, also after the A_2 caesura, describe military actions (cf. πάντοσε παπταίνων, 13.649 = 17.674; ἀμφὶ ἓ παπτήνας, 4.497 = 15.574; τρέσσε δὲ παπτήνας, 11.546 = 17.603.

This pattern of formulaic modification is especially noteworthy in 466–468. Line 466, τὴν δὲ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψεν, with the obvious substitution of τήν for τόν, is a familiar formula used to describe the death of the warrior in battle (cf. 5.659, 13.580).[34]

In the first half of 467, ἤριπε δ' ἐξοπίσω, the same process of formulaic modification noted in 448 and 460 is at work. This clause of 467 is unique, but it doubtless derives from the familiar martial formula, ἤριπε δ' ἐξ ὀχέων. The sound of ἐξ ὀχέων easily suggested ἐξοπίσω, as χειρός suggested κερκίς. It is interesting that in both of these formulary modifications the (pitch) accent corresponds (χειρός, κερκίς; ἐξ ὀχέων, ἐξ ὀπίσω); and the coincidence of that phoneme may have aided the development of the unique, "new" expression in each case. The evocation of the martial formula in 467 has a special appropriateness, for a variant described the actual wounding of Hector earlier in book 22: ἤριπε δ' ἐν κονίῃς (330), with the same coincidence of pitch accent.

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[32] E.g. *Il.* 11.537, 20.76; cf. also the compound at 10.231 and 433; also 10.338 and 16.729.

[33] *Od.* 11.608 = 24.179, with the first-foot spondee of δεῖνον παπταίνων, corresponds metrically more closely to our passage.

[34] Van der Valk (above, n. 4) 51 wrongly lists our passage (22.466) as a place where νὺξ ἐρεβεννή is used of "dying warriors." The error indicates how striking this formula is for Andromache.

Andromache's throwing down of her headband in 468 also suggests certain actions on the battlefield and especially the circumstances of Hector's victory over Patroclus. With τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς βάλε δέσματα σιγαλόεντα (22.468) one may compare τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ μὲν κρατὸς κυνέην βάλε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων (16.793; cf. 20.482).[35] The gesture recalls too the scene in book 6, Hector removing his helmet to soothe the frightened Astyanax (6.472):

αὐτίκ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς κόρυθ' εἵλετο φαίδιμος Ἕκτωρ.

The close of 468, δέσματα σιγαλόεντα, is a variant of the martial formula ἡνία σιγαλόεντα. It is interesting that the only other modification of this formula in the *Iliad* also occurs in book 22. The clothes washed in the springs around which Hector and Achilles run their grim race are εἵματα σιγαλόεντα.[36] In both cases Homer calls up these tangible remainders of a past happiness in a context which assures its destruction. As Hector skirted the springs which belong to the peaceful Troy which he has defended, symbols of the human and social continuities with which his life, unlike that of the lonely Achilles, is bound up, so Andromache tears off those "bright bonds," her first marriage gifts.

The formulaic "golden Aphrodite" in 470 enhances this juxtaposition of past happiness and its present cancellation. The epithet of the goddess is practically standard, but in the context it can reasonably be said to contribute to this atmosphere of a distant radiance now placed out of reach. The brightness of the "golden" divinity combines with the brightness of the δέσματα σιγαλόεντα (and, one may add, of the εἵματα ... λεπτά τε καὶ χαρίεντα, 510–511) to form one pole of the contrast between happiness and misery. The gesture and brightness both are comparable to those in the lament of Hecuba shortly before (22.405–407)

ὣς τοῦ μὲν κεκόνιτο κάρη ἅπαν· ἡ δέ νυ μήτηρ
τίλλε κόμην, ἀπὸ δὲ λιπαρὴν ἔρριψε καλύπτρην
τηλόσε, κώκυσεν δὲ μάλα μέγα παῖδ' ἐσιδοῦσα.[37]

[35] Cf. also 22.291, τῆλε δ' ἀπεπλάγχθη σάκεος δόρυ, of Hector. The word τῆλε after the bucolic diaeresis, however, is fairly common, esp. in the formula τῆλε δ' ἀπ' αὐτοῦ: *Il*. 10.153, 16.117, 18.395, 23.880.

[36] The phrase recurs, however, in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* 85 and 164. A formulaic variation, ῥήγεα σιγαλόεντα is common in the *Odyssey* (6.38, 11.189, 19.318, 19.337, 23.180).

[37] The separation of noun from adjective in Hecuba's λιπαρὴν ... καλύπτρην in this passage (22.406) may also emphasize the adjective and thus underline the theme of the destruction of past happiness. It is interesting that this phrase of

Though Andromache does not tear her hair like Hecuba, significant parallels still link the two scenes (note τηλόσε, 407; τῆλε, 468). For both the tearing of a veil symbolizes a fall from womanly happiness and fulfillment, whether as wife or mother. The tearing away of these external attributes of wifehood point back to that cancellation of status foreshadowed in ἄλοχος and πόσις at the beginning of this passage (437, 439; see above).

The torn veil may also intimate more ominous losses as well if, as Nagler suggests, it hints at sexual violation.[38] Since this veil is the gift of "golden Aphrodite" (22.470), its sexual connotations are obvious. In Hector's foreboding speech of 6.448–465, that threat, unspoken and unspeakable between man and wife, lurks in the background. The one most dreaded and degrading task of the captive woman he omits. Not so long before, Nestor had exhorted the Greeks not to return "until each has slept beside a Trojan's wife" (2.354–355).

Homer has given this gesture of Andromache in 468–472 a richness which goes beyond the Hecuba scene of 405–407, for Andromache is clearly the more important and the more fully developed character. Hence he elaborates a three-line description of the veil which serves as a flashback into Andromache's past. "Golden Aphrodite" and the recollection of Andromache's wedding day reinforce one another. Both point out of the present. Hence the suggestion in χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη of a divine remoteness from human suffering, of the pure happiness of the god's golden realm, leads immediately to the once-upon-a-time of Andromache's happy past: ὅ ῥά οἱ δῶκε χρυσέη Ἀφροδίτη / ἤματι τῷ ὅτε μιν κορυθαίολος ἠγάγεθ' Ἕκτωρ ... (470–471). That time of first womanly fulfillment, bright with promise for the future, is now as distant as the fabled being who presided over and embodied its joys.

In line 471 the common epithet of Hector, κορυθαίολος, is separated from its noun by the intrusion of ἠγάγετ(ο).[39] The effect is perhaps to call attention to Hector's present state, ἑλκόμενον ... ἀκηδέστως (464–465). The black hair and handsome head, now dragged in the dust, had been vividly described shortly before (22.401–403). The

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406 is unique in the *Iliad*, though one may compare 18.382 and the common λιπαρὰ κρήδεμνα of Penelope in the *Odyssey*. On καλύπτρη and κρήδεμνα as possible "allomorphs," see Nagler (above, n. 18) 301 n. 60.

[38] *Ibid.* 301.

[39] For the separation of noun and epithet in such formulas see Parry, *L'épithète traditionnelle* (above, n. 3) 100–101 and esp. 204–206; Edwards, "Notes on *Il.* XVIII" (above, n. 4) 260 (on *Il.* 18.2); Hainsworth, "Homeric Formula" (above, n. 1) 64 and now his *Flexibility* (above, n. 1) chap. 7.

helmet which "flashing-helmeted Hector" was wearing is also con-
nected with the origins of Achilles' passion for revenge. Homer had
dwelt upon the details of its acquisition from the dazed Patroclus
(16.794–798) and foreshadowed the doom of its new owner (16.799–
800). The emphasis given κορυθαίολος by the breaking up of the
formulaic phrase confers a special prominence on the helmet which
takes us back not only to book 16, but also, once more, to book 6. That
scene is recalled too in the reference to Eetion in 472 (compare 6.415ff).

There is another probable echo of book 6 in line 473:

$$\text{ἀμφὶ δέ μιν γαλόῳ τε καὶ εἰνατέρες ἅλις ἔσταν.}$$

The phrase γαλόων ἢ εἰνατέρων occurs, with minor variations, in
6.378 and 383, as Hector is approaching the palace to find Andromache.
The only other instance of the formula in the *Iliad* comes in Helen's
lament over Hector in 24.769, where it is part of a larger enumeration:

$$\text{δαέρων ἢ γαλόων ἢ εἰνατέρων εὐπέπλων.}$$

Of the four instances of the formula, our passage (22.473) is the only
one in which the adjective εὐπέπλων does not end the line. Its omission
is an indication of the freedom and subtlety with which formulaic
epithets may be applied or withheld. Homer does not remind us of the
maid-servants' "lovely robes" when they labor to revive a mistress
unconscious at the sight of her husband's body being horribly mutilated
by a savage enemy. We may contrast the absence of adjective here with
the ἀμφιπόλοισιν ἐϋπλοκάμοις of 442, where Andromache still has
hopes of Hector's return.

When Andromache returns to consciousness in 475, the language is
again based on the formula of a stricken warrior. With the first half of
475, ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἔμπνυτο, one may compare 5.697, 11.359, 14.436.
The second half of 475, καὶ ἐς φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη, is an abbreviated
form of the line which describes the wounding of Menelaus, 4.152:
ἄψορρόν οἱ θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀγέρθη. The poet of the *Odyssey*
recognized the aptness of 475 to convey extreme emotional shock, for he
uses the line not only of the exhausted Odysseus at sea (5.458), but, with
great appropriateness, of Laertes' realization that his long-lost son is
really before him (24.349).

In 476 Homer combines the *hapax* ἀμβλήδην with the formulaic
γοόωσα to form a new expression (compare also 5.413, ἐξ ὕπνου γοόωσα).
But in the background lies the formula, ὃν πότμον γοόωσα used of the
departing *psyche* of Patroclus and Hector (16.857 = 22.363, one of the
most obviously significant repetitions of the *Iliad*). The latter line

(22.363) is also an echo which is relevant to the immediate context: Hector's death and Andromache's grief, the intense physical suffering and the emotional, are thus telescoped, with the remoter cause, Patroclus' death (16.857), in the further background.

The nonformulaic language of 476 obviously serves to stress the special, individual quality of Andromache's lament. Yet it does something more as well. It continues the motif of Andromache's sorrow which will be completed when, as first of the mourners (24.723–746), she can finally lament over the beloved body which here she can only see disappearing into the distance (464–465),

> ἑλκόμενον πρόσθεν πόλιος· ταχέες δέ μιν ἵπποι
> ἕλκον ἀκηδέστως κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

Our first sight of Andromache in the poem is, in fact, an image of a lamenting woman (6.372–373):

> ἀλλ' ἥ γε ξὺν παιδὶ καὶ ἀμφιπόλῳ ἐϋπέπλῳ
> πύργῳ ἐφεστήκει γοόωσά τε μυρομένη τε.

And her last action in book 6 was also to raise the ritual wail of mourning (6.499):

> τῇσιν δὲ γόον πάσῃσιν ἐνῶρσεν.

Ἀμβλήδην γοόωσα in 22.476 thus marks another connection with book 6, but it also helps keep the theme of Andromache as lamenting woman, *mater dolorosa*, in our minds for the remainder of the poem. At the same time the uniqueness of the phrase, its deviation from the formulaic quality of the ritual lamentation, emphasizes the fact that the motif of lamentation has not yet found its full ritual-formulaic resolution. The formulaic phrase, such as that used of Hecuba in 429–430 (see above, section II), is reserved for the conclusion of the scene (22.515); but only in book 24 will the full ritual form have its due. There the expectations created by these earlier scenes will be fulfilled in a monumental scene of public mourning where Andromache "led off the wail of grief" (24.723).

V

Fundamentally, Homer never ceases to be formulaic. Even when he uses phrases which occur nowhere else, the formula is the *continuo* against which we hear bolder and freer melodies. Thus, while his creative powers are formed by a formulaic system, he can utilize the

resources of the system to an extraordinary degree — which means that he can move far more freely within it (and against it)[40] than we, with our limited knowledge and cumbersome analyses, can fully grasp. He may well have surpassed the now lost efforts of his contemporary rivals not only in his mastery of the formulaic system, but also in the imaginative freedom which comes only from such mastery. His greatness lies not only in using the traditional formulas with extraordinary appropriateness to obtain his characteristic effects of elevation, restraint, and solemn fatality, but also in boldly and unexpectedly applying the familiar formulas to new and unfamiliar contexts. Because the work of Parry and his disciples afforded remarkable insights into the mechanics of Homer's art, it entices us to forget that the epics are art, in fact art of rare genius, and as such are likely to work in ways that far transcend the mechanical. We should not, therefore, vainly attempt to "preserve our *amour propre*," as a distinguished interpreter of another great artist has recently written, "by shielding ourselves from the realization that genius involves mental faculties of an altogether different order from our own."[41]

The greatness of passages such as that analyzed here lies in the combination of the firm, unyielding formulaic diction with significant variation and thematic parallels to meaningfully related scenes. Most of the variations on familiar formulas noted in our analysis may be divided into two categories. The first category embraces references to the Hector-Andromache scene of book 6 (compare 22.439–444, 457–460, 470–473). The second category includes formulas applied here to Andromache which generally describe the wounding or death of a warrior in battle (22.448, 452–453, 461–463, 466–468, 475).

It is impossible to gauge the degree of Homer's consciousness of such echoes and transformations, nor is this the place to enter upon discussion of explanations like the "structural formula" or Nagler's suggestion that we should not speak of "modifications" of an "original" formula at all, but rather of "allomorphs" of a common "pre-verbal Gestalt."[42] In any case, it is clear that a familiar formulaic expression underlies a line like 22.448,

$$\chi\alpha\mu\alpha\grave{\iota} \; \delta\acute{\epsilon} \; o\acute{\iota} \; \check{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon \; \kappa\epsilon\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}s,$$

or 22.466–467,

[40] See Russo (above, n. 4) passim.
[41] Kenneth Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance* (New York 1966) 171.
[42] Nagler (above, n. 18) 280–291, esp. 285–288.

τὴν δὲ κατ᾽ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νὺξ ἐκάλυψεν,
ἤριπε δ᾽ ἐξοπίσω . . .

But in both cases the pressure of a new and unique situation either intensifies the expressive potential of an already familiar formula (as in 466) or so modifies the usual formula (as in 448 or 467) that there results a virtually "new" formula or, if you will, a remarkably fruitful realization of a potential latent within the existing system of formulaic expressions for this particular idea. We may note that in both the examples just cited, the "modified" or "new" formula occurs in close connection with language which, as far as our present knowledge goes, is nonformulaic (τῆς δ᾽ἐλελίχθη γυῖα, 448; ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκάπυσσε, 467).

One might, of course, argue that the use of such modifications of common martial formulas for Andromache's recognition is of no special significance. The *Iliad*, one could say, is after all mainly about war. Homer possesses but a limited stock of formulas and will naturally turn to his familiar language on the least hint of an analogy. We need not here deal with the view that such modifications might be only the result of the iron exigencies of oral composition, understood as oral improvisation: this view has already been challenged by others. Within our passage it is an easy enough extension of the familiar formula to apply the description of a falling warrior to a fainting woman (466–467, 475). But we must stress again the accumulated and interrelated effects of such modifications in a passage which is obviously of great dramatic importance and which, to judge from the amount of unique, nonformulaic language it contains, was a matter of special concern to the poet.

A second point favors our view that these modifications have expressive significance. Even if we leave the *Odyssey* out of consideration, it is clear that Homer could describe situations of extreme emotions and complex feminine reactions without recourse to adaptations of the formulas of the battlefield. It is enough to cite the subtle portrayal of Helen in 3.139–142, 171–177, 383–420; but one could add most of book 6, the *Dios Apatē* of book 14, the scene between Priam and Hecuba in book 24.

In our passage, as in many others, therefore, Homer pushes his language to its limits of expressiveness and flexibility when he has to deal with unusual or highly charged situations. Far from "never seeking words for an idea that has never before found expression,"[43] he

[43] Parry, "Studies" (above, n. 1) 146. See now the criticism of Hainsworth, *Flexibility* (above, n. 1) 72–73.

reveals his awareness of the newness and specialness of situations and emotional states by drawing vivid and unexpected possibilities from his formulaic system.

In our passage the underlying formulaic patterns for conveying the idea of physical collapse or of a figure falling in weakness or death have come to the surface in an arresting and unpredictable way. The manner in which he here realizes the potential of the formulaic system has profound connections with the meaning of the poem as a whole, and these are what we must now consider more closely.

VI

Homer's description of Andromache in terms of the stricken warrior confers upon her situation a special quality which is distinctive of her place in the epic. It equates her sufferings with the more "public" sufferings of the heroes themselves. Thus it has the obvious effect of elevating her stature, of raising her necessarily inactive, purely emotional reactions to a level of quasi-heroic significance. We have here another instance of Homer's deep, universal humanity, a humanity which extends sympathy and even a certain heroic strength not only to the non-Greek enemies but to women as well as the great warriors. Such an elevation of Andromache's role is also suited to her character in general and to her climactic place in this episode. It helps to objectify the subjectivity of her grief, to make it more dramatically tangible. The fainting itself performs this office, but its effect is considerably strengthened by the consistent pattern of the formulaic modifications which we have been studying.

Book 6 has already made clear that Andromache stands in a unique relation to the war. With her maternal and conjugal tenderness, her rich feminine emotionality, her intelligence and sharpsighted realism quickened by intense involvement, she is the bearer of the suffering of all the women in the war, and perhaps of all women in all war. As the wife of Troy's chief warrior, Achilles' chief enemy, she is both the most vulnerable of the Trojan women and the fullest embodiment of their impending doom. For these reasons she is involved in the details of the war more fully than any other female character (6.407–439). Even Helen, who points out the Greek chieftains to the Trojan elders, is more removed from the actual events. Helen's distanced perspective is signaled in her broad, almost philosophical statement of resignation in her speech to Hector in 6.357–358. Andromache is more truly tragic. She is not resigned. It is part of her tragedy that she cannot relinquish

her hopes, doomed though they are. Hence we first see her in book 22 in welcoming, life-affirming gestures: embroidering flowers and preparing a warm bath for her husband's return. With her decision to burn Hector's clothes, her last action in the book (22.510–514), the fullness of her tragedy is complete. This act not only crushes the hopeful possibilities raised by the weaving of 440–441; it also reaffirms that terrible knowledge at the end of book 6: "They no longer thought that he would come back again from battle." Such knowledge is a heavy burden. There is thus a deeply human and meaningful inconsistency between the life-affirming, housewifely bustle of 22.442–444 and that despairing realism of book 6.

The warrior motif in 437–476 anticipates what will be made explicit in the next scene (477–515), namely that Andromache's fate is at one with Hector's.[44] He is, as she said in book 6, father, mother, brother, and husband to her (6.429–430). Her life, in a sense, ends with his; and the formula of the dying warrior when she faints away (466–467) is a grim dramatic touch of connection. Her first words when she regains consciousness spell out what the associations of these formulas of 466–467 have already conveyed (22.477–478):

$$\text{"Εκτορ, ἐγὼ δύστηνος· ἰῆ ἄρα γιγνόμεθ' αἴσῃ}$$
$$\text{ἀμφότεροι . . .}$$

With her close, ostensibly unfeminine attention to the details of the war (6.441, 490–493), it is appropriate that at the climax of her tragedy Andromache should fall like a warrior in battle and come as close as a woman can in the *Iliad* to feeling the blow of the spear.

In an earlier scene of heroic brilliance Homer has created a momentary bridge between the domestic and the martial realms of this couple in having Hector speak of Andromache's care for his war horses (8.185–190). That task may seem a natural extension of Andromache's wifely function. But there, as in the scene on the tower in book 6, the domestic, female world still holds its own. In our passage and especially in the pattern of formulaic variation which we have noted from 448 on, it is engulfed by the male world of war, violence, destruction. The burning of Hector's garments, "light and lovely, fashioned *by the hands of women*" (22.511) marks the final engulfment.[45]

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[44] There are other parallels, though less striking, between the prostration of Andromache in grief and the dying of Hector: compare 22.439 with 237, 445 with 333, 475 with 222, 476 with 363.

[45] The ending of 22.511, τετυγμένα χερσὶ γυναικῶν, occurs only here, though the participle itself is common before the bucolic diaeresis in both epics. These

The opening Ἕκτορ, ἐγὼ δύστηνος of Andromache's speech (477) has yet another effect. It unites her more closely with the other major sufferer in this scene, Priam. Earlier in the book Priam had entreated Hector from the wall (22.59):

πρὸς δ' ἐμὲ τὸν δύστηνον ἔτι φρονέοντ' ἐλέησον;

and one may recall also Andromache's similar request to Hector for "pity" in 6.431. Δύστηνος, moreover, is fairly uncommon in the *Iliad* (five instances in all),[46] and is used in a personal exclamation of this nature only in these two passages. We may add also the emphatic enjambement of Ἕκτορος in both passages, only twelve lines apart (425–426, 437–438). Such parallels under such circumstances are likely to be more than coincidence. They reinforce verbally what is effected in other terms through the narrative situation and the ritualized, archetypal gestures of mourning. They bring together in a common fate the father, mother, and wife of the fallen warrior.

Specific language thus combines with narrative situation to place the multiple tragedies on the Trojan side into a unified focus. Each of these sufferings implies the others, and each is an aspect of the others. Touch one of these relationships, and the others tremble. The greatness of Homer lies in no small part in this ability to bring before us the rich interpenetration of the different, but interfused areas of human reality. His language in this passage exemplifies his power to render, with the fullest, most moving adequacy, and yet the calm, steady factuality of his formulaic style, the fragile and responsive texture of the closest human ties.

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lovely garments made by women and lying "in the halls" (510) also connect the contrast between female and male worlds with the contrast between inner and outer, shelter and exposure, in 439–440. Hector, stripped and dragged before the city on the one hand, and the lovely garments λεπτά τε καὶ χαρίεντα on the other, form the culminating expression of both antitheses. For a fine discussion of the passage, though with a different emphasis, see Schadewaldt (above, n. 11) 331–332.

46 The passages in question, in addition to those in book 22, are 6.127 = 21.151, 17.445. The word is more common in the *Odyssey*.

PROMETHEUS BOUND 114–117

Stephen V. Tracy

ALL commentators have observed that Prometheus reacts rather strongly in lines 114ff to the sound of the approaching chorus:

Die bacchischen Rhythmen malen den Affekt des Staunens u. der Ueberraschung.[1]

As a distant noise, presently discerned to be the faint beat of wings, is heard and a strange sea smell is wafted to Prometheus, he breaks for an instant into a freer metre . . .[2]

Suddenly he hears a rush of wings and awaits in fearful suspense what approaches (125 φεῦ φεῦ).[3]

ἔα ἔα an exclamation of surprise as Prometheus hears the approach of the Chorus.[4]

In no sense do such statements adequately assess the intensity of Prometheus' reaction. Mere surprise or suspense is too mild. The ancient scholiast more nearly approaches it when he comments on ἆ ἆ (line 114) ἐκπλήξεως ἐπιρρήματα. Later in the drama Io cries out ἆ ἆ ἔ ἔ (line 566)[5] in anguish at the gadfly's goading. With this as a guide, Prometheus' cry ἆ ἆ ἔα ἔα (line 114) should not be glossed over; it represents the extreme of agitation. Furthermore, we have just watched him endure in silence while Hephaestus nailed him to the cliff. His outburst here, therefore, has a stark, dramatic emphasis because it is unexpected and has no palpable cause.

To further depict Prometheus' extreme emotional state, Aeschylus has taken the license, the only time he does so in his extant work, of admitting in lines 115–117 lyric elements into spoken iambics. This fact

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[1] N. Wecklein, *Aeschylus' Prometheus* (Leipzig 1878) line 115.
[2] A. O. Prickard, *Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound* (Oxford 1883) line 115.
[3] G. Thomson, *Aeschylus, The Prometheus Bound* (Cambridge 1932) 141.
[4] H. J. Rose, *A Commentary on the Surviving Plays of Aeschylus* (Amsterdam 1957) 254.
[5] Murray and Wilamowitz print ἆ ἆ ἔ ἔ; the variant ἆ ἆ ἔα ἔα, it should be noted, has ample mss. authority. Cf. R. D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1964) 222.

and, indeed, the metrical structure of Prometheus' soliloquy have been obscured by the layout of the printed page in the standard editions, those of Murray and Wilamowitz.[6] If one considers the speech minus lines 114–117, it becomes clear that it is in iambics except for two eight-line sections of anapaests. A similar line introduces each:

> 92 ἴδεσθέ μ' οἷα πρὸς θεῶν πάσχω θεός
> 119 ὁρᾶτε δεσμώτην με δύσποτμον θεόν.

Both express first indignation at his present state and then, introduced in each place by φεῦ φεῦ (lines 98, 124), fear for what may come. In short, while not being doublets, the anapaestic sections form an artistic pair balancing one another. Once this is perceived, it is plainly incorrect and insensitive to print and to understand lines 114–127 as a unit. In reality, lines 114–117 create a rhythmic interruption in the iambic trimeters (lines 101–119) which intervene between the anapaests. It would be preferable, therefore, to print:

> 112 τοιῶνδε ποινὰς ἀμπλακημάτων τίνων
> ὑπαίθριος δεσμοῖσι πασσαλεύομαι.
> ἆ ἆ ἔα ἔα
> 115 τίς ἀχώ, τίς ὀδμὰ προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής,
> θεόσυτος ἢ βρότειος ἢ κεκραμένη;
> ἵκετο τερμόνιον ἐπὶ πάγον
> 118 πόνων ἐμῶν θεωρός, ἢ τί δὴ θέλων;
> ὁρᾶτε δεσμώτην με δύσποτμον θεόν,
> τὸν Διὸς ἐχθρόν, κτλ.

In order to emphasize visually the brevity of the departure from iambics, I have underlined the non-iambic elements, excepting, of course, line 120, which marks the beginning of the anapaests. Immediately after the outcry an extremely arresting line (115) occurs, composed of bacchiacs in diaeresis.[7] The next line begins with a run of four short syllables (θεόσυτος) and settles into iambic rhythm only to be succeeded by a dochmiac plus cretic (line 117).[8] While it seems undesirable to assign exact emotional values to these rhythms, it is

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[6] Each leaves a blank space after line 113, with the result that lines 114–127 become a visual unit on the page and one tends naturally, in reading, to understand them together.

[7] Cf. e.g. A. M. Dale, *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama* (Cambridge 1948) 100, on the striking quality of such a line.

[8] Retaining, with Wecklein and Weil against Murray and Wilamowitz, the word order of the mss.; Dale, ibid. 78 n. 1, supports the retention of the mss. order. See also D. S. Raven, *Greek Metre* (London 1962) 97c.

instructive to note that dochmiacs and cretics predominate in Io's frenzy (566ff). Lines 114–117 rhythmically represent Prometheus as momentarily losing control of himself.

Why has the poet emphasized the outcry and fleeting consternation of his principal character in this way? Surely his intent is to force the audience to think of the principal event of Prometheus' enchainment: the eagle and the agonies Prometheus was to suffer as it feasted on his liver. Hesiod summarized the story, *Theogony* 521–529, as follows (trans. H. G. Evelyn–White, Loeb Classical Library):

And ready-witted Prometheus he [Zeus] bound with inextricable bonds, cruel chains, and drove a shaft through his middle, and set on him a long-winged eagle, which used to eat his immortal liver; but by night the liver grew as much again everyway as the long-winged bird devoured in the whole day. That bird Heracles, the valiant son of shapely-ankled Alcmene, slew; and delivered the son of Iapetus from the cruel plague, and released him from his affliction — not without the will of Olympian Zeus who reigns on high . . .

According to the usual version, therefore, the advent of the eagle followed closely upon the enchainment. Reinforcing this, Prometheus' words subtly require us to think of a bird and, at the very least, to imagine the approach of something unpleasant:

(1) ὀδμά occurs only here in Aeschylus; the Attic form ὀσμή is used once in the *Eumenides* (253) — ὀσμὴ βροτείων αἱμάτων με προσγελᾷ. LSJ note s.v. "frequently used of *foul smells*." The word does not appear in Hesiod and just six times in Homer, viz. *Iliad* 14.415 (of the sulphurous fumes from Zeus's thunderbolt), *Odyssey* 4.406, 442, 446 (the stench of sea lions), 5.59 (pungent odor of burning wood), 9.210 (of the unadulterated wine used to overcome Polyphemus). It is, in short, not a very common word and connotes a very strong, penetrating odor — the sort of smell associated with carrion birds, not the daughters of Ocean.

(2) προσέπτα clearly indicates a bird.

(3) θεόσυτος specifically points to the eagle sent by Zeus.[9]

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[9] Cf. Hesiod *Theogony* 523 καί οἱ ἐπ' αἰετὸν ὦρσε τανύπτερον. Of the commentators, only F. A. Paley, *The Tragedies of Aeschylus* (London 1879), has found any allusion to the eagle in this passage. On line 127 he comments: "πᾶν φοβερόν. Because he foreknows the approach of the dreaded vulture: hence his alarm at the rustling of wings." To which E. E. Sikes and St. J. B. Wynne Wilson, *The Prometheus Vinctus of Aeschylus* (London 1902), concerned with the problem of foreknowledge and, consequently, missing the artistic point, replied: "Paley thinks that Prom. foreknows the approach of the vulture, and hence his alarm at the sound of wings. But if we judge from the inconsistency . . ."

Lines 114–117 have an important artistic function. In them the playwright has deliberately created a false expectation in his audience by exploiting their knowledge of a well-known myth.[10] The Oceanids would represent a relief to the concentrated harshness of the play up to this point in any case; but, with lines 114–117 as their immediate cue and context, they gain immeasurably in emphasis and come as a delightful artistic surprise.

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[10] The startling stage effects at the opening, I believe, must have led the audience to expect that the eagle would actually be brought on stage in some manner. Indeed, the mechanics of staging the Oceanids' entrance present some interesting problems. E. Fraenkel, "Der Einzug des Chors im Prometheus," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 23 (1954) 269–275, plausibly suggests that they came in one by one, i.e. not all together on one large, winged car.

A NOTE ON δυσχείρωμα

Dora C. Pozzi

Sophocles *Antigone* 125–126:[1]

τοῖος ἀμφὶ νῶτ' ἐτάθη
πάταγος Ἄρεος, ἀντιπάλου
δυσχείρωμα δράκοντος.

ἀντιπάλου δράκοντος AslLᵃ: ἀντιπάλωι δράκοντι LR, A

Such din of war was raised behind him (the Argive eagle),
such dreadful violence of his foe, the (Theban) dragon.

THE parodos of *Antigone* (100–154) is an epinician ode sung by the chorus of Theban elders in joy and relief at the defeat of the Argives who had besieged the city during the past night. The sun that rose over the enemy's retreat is invoked in the first strophe as a symbol of the Theban victory.

"The warrior who came from Argos" (106) denotes, rather than one commander, the entire Argive host as a compact collective entity. But

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Reference has been made in the text, by author only, to the following editions and other works:

A. Boeckh, *Des Sophokles Antigone, griechisch und deutsch hrsg. von A.B.* Leipzig 1884.

L. Campbell, *Paralipomena Sophoclea.* London 1907.

A. Dain, *Sophocle, I. Les Trachiniennes, Antigone.* Paris 1962.

J. D. Denniston and D. Page, *Aeschylus' Agamemnon.* Oxford 1957.

C. G. A. Erfurdt (rev. by Hermann), *Sophokles Tragödien.* 1830–1866.

Eduard Fraenkel, *Aeschylus' Agamemnon.* Oxford 1950.

R. F. Goheen, *The Imagery of Sophocles' Antigone.* Princeton 1951.

R. C. Jebb, *Sophocles. The Plays and Fragments. Part III. Antigone.* Cambridge 1900 (3rd ed.).

G. Müller, *Sophokles, Antigone. Erläutert und mit einer Einleitung versehen von G.M.* Heidelberg 1967.

F. G. Schneidewin, *Sophokles.* Leipzig 1854.

[1] Abbreviations in the apparatus as in Dain (see p. LXI).

in the anapaests Polyneices and the army blend in the metaphor: first
he is the eagle (up to 113), then the huge eagle's white[2] wing stands for
the shining screen of shields, spears, and helmets of the Argive soldiers.

In the antistrophe the image is diffused into that of an undefined
monster that threatens Thebes, its jaws wide open, at the seven gates.
Elements of the metaphor are mingled with reality: he fled before
getting a taste of the blood he craved for (the monster), before putting
fire to the towers of the city he wanted to take hold of (the Argive host).

The interpretation of 125–126 must precede the choice between the
textual variants. But the meaning usually ascribed to these lines raises
serious problems.

There is a Homeric parallel of the struggle between an eagle and a
snake, in which the snake is also saved portentously.[3] Other evidence[4]
indicates that the dragon must represent, in *Antigone* 125–126, the
Thebans, who were, the scholiast reminds us, δρακοντογενεῖς. But the
many difficulties involved in this interpretation drove Schneidewin and
Boeckh to cut the Gordian knot by taking δράκων to stand for the
Argives. Theirs is, however, an awkward solution, for the same party
would be represented, in the space of a few lines, with the images of
two traditionally hostile creatures.

Erfurdt's translation will furnish a convenient example of the inter-
pretation favored by most: αἰετός = the Argives; δράκων = the Thebans;
and δυσχείρωμα = "something hard to conquer, overcome." Erfurdt
read the dative and understood: "Talis circa tergum (aquilae) intende-
batur Martis strepitus, hostili draconi (Thebanis) tractatu difficilis."
But surely the sequence: "He (the Argive foe) fled . . . *such* was the din
of war . . ." implies a causal connection, suggests that a reason or an
explanation of the retreat will follow, and "hostili draconi tractatu
difficilis" denotes just the opposite.

Other attempts to construe the text include taking the dative as
agent of ἐτάθη (the scholiast quotes *Iliad* 22.55 Ἀχιλῆι δαμασθείς to
support this view; see Jebb *contra*), or as causal dative, like in Hermann's
"Tantus a tergo concitatus est strepitus Martis, insuperabilis propter
adversarium draconem." That Hermann should have resorted to this
construction, as unworthy of him as of Sophocles, indicates clearly how
uneasy he felt about Erfurdt's interpretation.

On the other hand, those who read the genitive ἀντιπάλου δράκοντος

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[2] White is the color of the Argive shield. See A. *Septem* 90, Eu. *Phoen.* 1099.
[3] *Il.* 12.200ff. See also A. *Ch.* 247ff, Ov. *Met.* 4.362, Hor. *Od.* 4.4.11.
[4] See *Ant.* 1125, *OC* 1534, Ov. *Met.* 3.531.

obtain, in Jebb's words, either an "impossible construction" (δυσ-
"hard" in δυσχείρωμα would require an explicit dative somewhere) or a
"wrong sense" for δυσχείρωμα, namely: "a hard won victory of the
dragon foe."

Jebb's own suggestion should not have passed the test of his critical
accuracy: he read ἀντιπάλῳ δράκοντος, "a thing too hard for him to
conquer, as he wrestled with his dragon foe."

Now what Jebb labeled a "wrong sense" is the active connotation
of the verbal notion in δυσχείρωμα. The entry in LSJ reads: "A hard
conquest. Incorrect formation in S. *Ant.* 126." But G. Müller says,
rightly, that -μα formations are free and ambiguous as regards voice,
being defined only by their context.

If δυσχείρωμα meant "a hard conquest," the genitive would have the
function that grammarians call subjective. This solution certainly
represents an improvement over Erfurdt's, but it is open to the same
objection. Will Sophocles have written: "The Argives fled . . ., so
fierce was the counterattack, a hard overpowering (of them) by their
Theban foe"? If δυσ- in δυσχείρωμα means "hard," it must refer to
"difficulty experienced by the vanquished Argives, not by the victorious
Thebans."[5] Otherwise, Sophocles would not have brought to the fore,
in the anapaests connected by γάρ, no lesser than Zeus, dealing the
final blow on the overconfident, arrogant Argives. Surely a "hard
overcoming" does not mean one that comes about with the help of the
thunderbolt hurled by Zeus!

This quick glance at the scholarship on our text shows that there have
been two assumptions, almost generally held,[6] as regards δυσχείρωμα:
(1) that this noun is a derivative of χειροῦμαι; (2) that δυσ- means
"hard." Should these assumptions prove to be unfounded, we might be
able to find a more satisfactory meaning of δυσχείρωμα in its context.

Abstract nouns in -μα are very frequent in tragedy,[7] and Sophocles
uses them very often. A. A. Long points out that those which occur in
lyric (possessing or not a doublet) "produce a weighty expression which
may be made even more emphatic by virtue of some vivid construction."

Such nouns are apt to express an action as well as a fact or the
result or instrument of an action. Even when there is no question but
that they are derived from a given verb, they have been coined and used

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[5] Jebb ad loc.

[6] With the exceptions mentioned below.

[7] See Ernst Fraenkel, *Griechische Denominativa* (Göttingen 1906) 227; P.
Chantraine, *La formation des noms en grec ancien* (Paris 1933); A. A. Long,
Language and Thought in Sophocles (London 1968) 18ff, 35ff.

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so freely that it is almost impossible to predict their meaning apart from the context.[8] Furthermore, there are also -μα nouns that do not derive from verbs.[9]

Δυσχείρωμα is a ἅπαξ, but χείρωμα occurs in the following three places:

1. Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 1326: δούλης θανούσης, εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος
   Some understand χείρωμα here actively (Ed. Fraenkel: "a conquest easy to effect"), others passively ("res subacta": so Wellauer, Dindorf, LSJ; cf. Ed. Fraenkel ad loc.) or as ambiguous (Denniston–Page).

2. Aeschylus *Septem* 1022: . . . τυμβοχόα χειρώματα
   There is general agreement here that the only meaning of χείρωμα that the context admits of is that of the scholiast's annotation: διὰ χειρῶν ἐργαζόμενα. Naturally, some scholars have seen this as an *abusio* that only confirms their view of the end of the *Septem* as spurious. But H. Lloyd-Jones quotes ἀχείρωτος (Sophocles *Oedipus Coloneus* 698) to show that Aeschylus could have used χείρωμα with the sense of "the action of the hands that pile up the barrow."[10]

3. Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus* 560: ἄφαντος ἔρρει θανασίμῳ χειρώματι;
   Jebb translates "deed of a violent hand" in the notes, "deadly violence" in the translation. So, too, LSJ: "deed of violence," and many others. Ed. Fraenkel, however, understands "deadly overpowering."

It is clear that χείρωμα has been understood as a derivative of χειροῦμαι unanimously only for Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 1326, the only example too, as it would seem to me, where "overpowering" makes sense at all. If χείρωμα were a derivative of χείρ, however, we would obtain an equally acceptable meaning: "the killing of a slave, a violence easy to be accomplished."

I believe the derivation from χείρ to be compelling for Sophocles *Oedipus Tyrannus* 560, where Jebb's translation is right. The connotation of χείρ here must be compared with the uses of this noun that imply violence, like *Odyssey* 20.181, Hesiod *Opera* 192, Xenophon *Cyropaidia* 1.5.13. The idea of "overpowering" is uncalled for in this context; compare Sophocles *Ajax* 1033 θανασίμῳ πεσήματι.

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[8] See Chantraine, 175ff. He calls the sense of these abstract nouns "flou"; also Long, p. 19.

[9] E.g. εὐόρκωμα, πέπλωμα.

[10] See H. Lloyd-Jones, "The End of the *Septem*," *CQ* n.s. 9 (1959) 80–115.

In τυμβοχόα χειρώματα of *Septem* 1022 the connotation of violence is missing, but the derivation from χείρ is unquestionable.

Let us now come back to *Antigone* 126. The only scholar who considered an interpretation of δυσχείρωμα connected with χείρ rather than with χειροῦμαι was L. Campbell, in his *Paralipomena Sophoclea*, quoting the appendix of Solger's German translation of *Antigone*: "an act of hard achievement." Jebb also mentions this possibility, but rejects it. Goheen discusses "a difficult work of the hands" (with the dative) as "less proper" than the derivation from χειροῦμαι.

In fact "an act of hard achievement" is just as unsatisfactory as "a hard overpowering," and for the same reasons. Our next step must consist in questioning the current translation of the prefix δυσ- in δυσχείρωμα. It is true that δυσ- means "hard" in words like δύσβατος, δυσάλωτος, and many other verbal adjectives in -τος; but there are numerous examples showing that it could also be used as an opposite of εὐ- (as a matter of fact, κακο- occurs as a substitute for δυσ- in words like κακοδαίμων, κακογενής).[11] The connotations cover a wide range of meanings, from merely "unpleasant" as in δύσοσμος, to the negation of the very essence expressed by the noun μήτηρ in δυσμήτηρ ("a mother who is no mother," see *Odyssey* 23.97, Aeschylus *Agamemnon* 1360).

Without looking further than *Antigone* we can find several illustrations of free combinations of δυσ- with nouns and adjectives: δύσαυλος (356), δύσομβρος (359), δύσπνους (588), δυσκόμιστος (1346), δυσβουλία (95).

In conclusion, if the nominal element in δυσχείρωμα were connected with χείρ in its connotation of violence, and δυσ- meant *gravis*, the compound δυσχείρωμα might be translated "dreadful violence."

The genitive ἀντιπάλου δράκοντος, a correction on both L and A by the hand of the scribe of A,[12] commends itself. In the interpretation suggested here, it means: "the dreadful violence of his dragon foe."

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[11] See J. Wackernagel, *Kleine Schriften* (Göttingen 1955) vol. 2 p. 858, and E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*) (München 1959–1960) vol. 1 p. 432.

[12] Whether the genitive represents a Byzantine correction or an old reading is impossible to determine; but it is clearly the correct reading. The whole question of the relative value of A is a matter of much discussion. See P. E. Easterling, "The Manuscript A of Sophocles and Its Relation to the Moschopulean Recension," *CQ* n.s. 10 (1960) 51–64, and the bibliography she cites.

DVELLVM

Wendell Clausen

CICERO comments (*Orat.* 153) on the change of initial *du̯* to *b* in *duellum* / *bellum* and *duis* / *bis*; and remarks that the victor of Mylae was called Bellius though his forebears had all been named Duellius. Perhaps Bellius, or rather Bilius — for the original form seems to have been Duilius (so Münzer, *RE* X 1776–1777) — was so called: at any rate, the pronunciation would have changed during his lifetime or even earlier.

In this brief paper I offer an account of *du̯ellum* dissyllabic and *duëllum* trisyllabic in Latin poetry. The old essay by Lange, "De duelli origine et fatis commentatio" (Leipzig 1868), cited by Brandt in *TLL*, is worthless; and Brandt's own article there is indistinct.

I begin with Plautus, almost always instructive. Plautus uses *bellum* many times — not surprisingly, because it is what he said himself; he uses *du̯ellum* only four times, and each time with an archaic or mock-solemn nuance. (Leumann, "Die lateinische Dichtersprache," *MusHelv* 4 [1947] 136 n. 16, "so braucht es zweisilbig Plautus mehrfach in archaisierender Manier," is misleading. The proportion matters.) He uses it in the alliterative phrase *domi duellique* in *As.* 559 and in *Capt.* 68, where it is reinforced: *domi duellique duellatores optimi*; in a pompous speech in *Truc.* 483; and in an elaborate battle communiqué, replete with archaisms, in *Amph.* 189:

> duello extincto maximo atque internecatis hostibus.

Here there is a textual, and therefore a stylistic, problem: the hiatus after *du̯ello*. Fleckeisen suggested a transposition, *extincto duello*; but this impairs the rhetoric of the verse, a verse bracketed by two nouns, with accompanying participles oppositely arranged — it is sometimes forgotten that Plautus was a literary artist. I follow Leo — if I understand him — in thinking that there is a reminiscence of the archaic ending in *-d* here. Sedgwick (Manchester 1960) accepts *duëllo*, which he

tries to justify in a confused note. But a trisyllabic scansion is out of the question, for reasons which will appear. Plautus once uses the archaic form of the adjective, *Epid.* 449–451:

> nempe quem in adulescentia
> memorant apud reges armis arte duellica
> diuitias magnas indeptum.

The context is archaic: I refer especially to the assonant asyndetic pair *armis arte*.

In Plautus' contemporary Ennius, a very different sort of poet, we find a novelty: *duëllum*, suggested no doubt by the spelling, *Ann.* 549 V.:

> hos pestis necuit, pars occidit illa duellis.

Given the character of the poem, *bellum* must have occurred hundreds of times in the *Annals*. From the fact that *bellum* occurs sixteen times in our fragments and *duëllum* only once, we may infer that Ennius used *duëllum* as an occasional metrical variant of *bellum*, and at the end of the hexameter where it was convenient.

There is some confusion about the dissyllabic and trisyllabic forms. The summary statement in *TLL* and Axelson's remarks, *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund 1945) 26–27, imply that Cicero and Livy pronounced *duëllum* as Ennius did: surely they pronounced *dŭellum* as Plautus did. *dŭellum* always occurs in an archaic context, and never in poetry after Plautus. It has been suggested, wrongly I believe, that Lucretius used the dissyllabic form twice, 4.968:

> nautae contractum cum uentis degere bellum.

The codex Oblongus has *uellum*, the Quadratus *uelum*, a medieval conjecture. Bergk conjectured *dŭellum*, anticipated, according to Bailey, in a codex Bodleianus which he does not otherwise identify. But the confusion *b/u* is frequent — Lachmann has a note on it at 2.216 — and is phonetic rather than transcriptional. The manuscript tradition then does not support Bergk's conjecture here or Ernout's ("*an* duelli?") at 5.1289–1290:

> aereque belli
> miscebant fluctus . . .

The Oblongus and the Quadratus both have *uelli*; a corrector of the Oblongus restored *belli*. In one place Lucretius does use the archaic form of the adjective, 2.661:

> lanigerae pecudes et equorum duellica proles.

There can be no doubt that Lucretius wrote *duellica*; for besides the testimony of the ninth-century manuscripts we have the much earlier and explicit testimony of Nonius Marcellus twice, 80.28 and 208.24 M. (The fact that the archaic form is preserved twice in Nonius is a further argument against supposing that it was lost twice in the places I have cited.) "*duellica*: an archaic form; so *duellum* iv. 968. It is quoted also from Plautus more than once." So Bailey, in a helpless note. Here is a close imitation of an archaic poet, possibly Ennius, or at least of the archaic style: *duellica* is consonant with the tone of the phrase *lanigerae pecudes* (*lanigerum pecus* survives in Ennius, *Sat.* 42 V.) and with the noun *proles*, or rather with the phrase *equorum . . . proles*. We need not assume that Ennius altered the scansion of the adjective because he altered the scansion of the noun. He had no wish to make trouble for himself: a dactyl is much easier to manage in the hexameter than a second paeon. And he did not in fact alter the scansion of *perduellis*, *Scen.* 396 V.:

> quin inde inuitis sumpserit perduellibus.

duëllum never occurs in an archaic context: it was after all an innovation, a novelty. Its character appears from Ovid *Fast.* 6.201–202:

> hac sacrata die Tusco Bellona duello
> dicitur . . .

Bellona duello: there is no uneasiness in the collocation.

Ennius' invention would have failed — Lucretius ignored it, as did Catullus and Virgil — had it not been for Horace, *Epist.* 2.2.115–118:

> obscurata diu populo bonus eruet atque
> proferet in lucem speciosa uocabula rerum,
> quae priscis memorata Catonibus atque Cethegis,
> nunc situs informis premit et deserta uetustas.

Did Horace imagine that those worthies said *duëllum*? I somehow doubt it. Horace does not merely imitate Ennius — this has not, I think, been noticed; he imitates him in his own way. He might have used *duëllum* first in his hexameters, but he did not; he used it first in his lyrics. And in the earliest example — if 5 is earlier than 14 in book 3 — *duëllum* stands before what Horace regarded as the main caesura, 3.5.37–38:

> hic unde uitam sumeret inscius
> pacem duello miscuit . . .

In the *Epistles* he uses the form three times.

1.2.7:

> Graecia barbariae lento collisa duello.

2.2.98:

> lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello.

There is an obvious similarity of phrasing; *duëllum* stands at the end of the hexameter; and here first is a hint of the exclusive meaning the form later acquired in prose — which is no concern of ours.

2.1.253–254:

> 　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　tuisque
> auspiciis totum confecta duella per orbem.

Here and here only — a fact unnoticed by commentators — *duëllum* does not stand at the end of the hexameter. Why? We may guess. Perhaps Horace felt he had made the form partially his own by using it in his lyrics, and so had earned some small freedom of movement.

Finally, a couplet in Propertius which I discussed several years ago in reviewing Enk's edition of book 2 (*AJP* 86 [1965] 95–101); but there I had no occasion to comment on the history of the form.

2.12.17–18:

> quid tibi iucundum est siccis habitare medullis?
> si pudor est, alio traice bella tua.

The pentameter is corrupt; the manuscript tradition offers: *si puer est alio traice puella tuo*. In every modern edition Lipsius' conjecture *duëlla* figures in the apparatus criticus; this is improbable for textual, and impossible for stylistic, reasons. *pudor* was corrupted to *puer* because (as Shackleton Bailey has remarked) *puer Amor* is the theme of the poem; *bella* became *uella*, as in Lucretius 4.968 and 5.1289; and then *puella* was all but inevitable — unmetrical and unsyntactical, but yet a Latin word: a medieval conjecture.

Here then is a last example, admittedly slight, of how textual and stylistic criticism are necessarily related.

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A DATE IN THE *EIGHTH ECLOGUE*

G. W. Bowersock

THE amazing efflorescence of Latin letters in the years that followed
Caesar's death is possibly the most striking *historical* fact about the
Triumvirate. It lends weight to old generalizations about the flourishing
of genius and the creation of artistic masterpieces in times of crisis and
chaos. One could argue that there were at such times heightened
sensibilities, and one might be right. In any case, it was a most re-
markable age that could produce within fifteen years the *Eclogues* and
Georgics of Virgil, the *Epodes* and *Satires* of Horace, the *Catiline*,
Jugurtha, and *Histories* of Sallust, the biographies of Cornelius Nepos,
the poetry of Cornelius Gallus, the *Logistorici* and *Res rusticae* of the
antiquarian Varro, and more besides. Important as this period is,
accounts of it in literary histories of Rome often depend upon scholiastic
speculation of the late Empire: such evidence is suspect even when it is
not manifestly absurd. One of the most fruitful products of the current
debates about the nature and composition of the *Augustan History* has
been the repeated demonstration of the puerility and unreliability of
scholiastic erudition. The scholiasts are seen, above all, as men skilled
in the fabrication of history from no more than the evidence of the texts
upon which they are commenting (together with occasionally relevant
scraps of information that have percolated independently to their age).
We too can make inferences from surviving literary texts, and indeed we
are equipped to do it more intelligently. The modern historian of
antiquity is in a far better position to interpret the historical background
of a classical literary text than most of the late scholiasts. This must be
faced squarely. The mere antiquity of a testimony is no guarantee,
especially when it is testimony of some four hundred years after the text.

The time for a renewed historical investigation of Virgil's triumviral
poetry is ripe.[1] Here and there the tyranny of the Servius commentary
has been shaken, not to mention that Life of Virgil which is taken to be

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[1] The *Appendix Vergiliana* I omit as non-Virgilian; I am not anxious to dispute
the matter, certainly irrelevant here.

a compound of Suetonius and Donatus. The test which has to be applied to all this apparent evidence is simple: is there anything in a notice under review which could not have been extrapolated from the work itself? If the answer be positive, then (and only then) should the possibility of authentic external evidence be admitted. The *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are indisputably among Rome's masterpieces; they are closely tied to a specific historical period and to specific historical events. Even the most aesthetic of critics will find it hard to escape this fact about the poems. We have the elucidations of Servius: one easy way out is just to accept them, then to forget them (as being ultimately unimportant for an appreciation of beauty). Another way, and surely the correct one, is to question the Servian and other evidence and to look closely again at the poems themselves. Some progress has already been made, but there may be room for more.

In the Suetonius–Donatus life of Virgil and in Servius' commentary it is stated that the *Liber Bucolicon* was completed in three years and the *Georgics* in seven.[2] It is also recorded, on the authority of Asconius, that Virgil wrote the *Eclogues* at the age of twenty-eight (he was born in 70 B.C.).[3] Despite the diminution of scholarly credulity in latter days, these apparently precise details about the composition of Virgil's triumviral poems are still generally accepted. Armed with the number three and the testimony concerning Virgil's age when he worked on the *Eclogues*, critic and historian alike date these poems to c. 42–39 B.C. But if we scrutinize the figure three for the *Eclogues* it becomes clear that it is quite worthless as independent evidence for the time of composition. A mediocre scholar or scholiast in search of a date will have immediately perceived in the poems certain items which could be correlated with his meager fund of historical knowledge. First, the *Fourth Eclogue* is solidly placed in the consulate of Asinius Pollio, in 40 B.C. Second, persons are being dispossessed of their land, and territory is being carved up amid the confiscations. In the vicinity of the date ascertained from the *Fourth Eclogue* come the confiscations and veteran allotments of the late forties, well attested and notoriously provocative. Everything fits, or seems to: no other historical allusions in the *Eclogues* are so obvious as these in their reference to famous events. Plus a

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[2] Donatus *Vita Verg.* 25; Servius *Praef. Aen.* (Thilo I, p. 2, lines 7ff).

[3] Pseudo-Probus *In Verg. Comm.* (Hagen, *App. Serv.* 329.5ff): . . . *cum certum sit eum, ut Asconius Pedianus dicit, XXVIII annos natum Bucolica edidisse.* Cf. Pseudo-Probus, ibid. 323.13: *scripsit Bucolica annos natus VIII et XX.* Whatever Asconius wrote, he is unlikely to have used the word *edidit*: he will have spotted the date implicit in *Eclogue* 4.

crucial outside detail: composition at the age of twenty-eight, or rather in 42 B.C. This detail, since it is ascribed to the sober Asconius (of the first century A.D.), is probably independent and reliable in so far as it indicates a *terminus a quo*. By inclusive reckoning, 42–40 B.C. comprise a *triennium*; and that *triennium* of 42–40, although not the period that modern scholars cite in their cavalier disregard of the frequent use of inclusive reckoning in antiquity, is nevertheless all that a Servius could have had in mind. Here, manifestly, is the line of thought that delivered the three years for the time of composition of the *Eclogues*.

As for the *Georgics*, dated normally c. 36–29 B.C., a similar explanation obtains. The opening of the *Third Georgic* points to the three triumphs of the year 29 B.C., but the end of the *First Georgic* belongs to a time of war. The *First Georgic* ends with reference to the Parthians in motion and war in Germany; allusion is also made to Pharsalus and Philippi, but not to Actium.[4] The time is pretty clearly the mid-thirties, about 35 B.C. Combining this date with 29, a scholiast, ancient or modern, will easily arrive at some such figure as seven (the year will be 35 by inclusive reckoning). Hence the traditional time for the composition of the *Georgics*. Accordingly, in the cases of both *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, the deductions about the periods in which these works were composed are as strong or weak as any scholarly deductions. They have no external authority whatever.

The scholiastic tradition on the *Eclogues* provides still more testimony to dispel. It concerns the land commission involved in the confiscations of the late forties. This aspect of Virgilian scholarship has been particularly depressing because of an unwarranted faith in the scholia conjoined with a singular insensitivity to the poetry. As everyone knows, it is said that Pollio, Varus, and Gallus were members of a land commission and that Virgil felt a sense of gratitude for having been treated well (hence, *Eclogue* 1).[5] There were, of course, confiscations and, without doubt, they imposed much pain and unhappiness upon the dispossessed. Virgil has memorably caught the sadness and melancholy of that time. But why do we have to see him personally doing well and single out those three men as members of the land commission? The answer is easy. The scholiast, perusing the *Eclogues*, noticed the names of the three honorands of the poems (apart from the new Caesar himself). They are precisely Pollio, Varus, and Gallus. Once again we

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[4] *Georg.* 1.509 (Parthia and Germany), 490–492 (Pharsalus and Philippi). Cf. H. D. Meyer, *Die Aussenpolitik des Augustus und die augusteische Dichtung* (1961) 22.

[5] Donatus *Vita Verg.* 19; Servius *Praef. Buc.* (Thilo III 2.17ff).

can see a dull mind at work. Somewhere the scholiast found a reference
to a speech of a Cornelius (Gallus?) against an Alfenus (Varus?);[6] the
scholiast mentioned this speech, of which we know nothing more, in his
comments on the land commission. It seems the only relevant item in the
ancient commentaries that was not fabricated from the text of the
Eclogues themselves or cited from an identified (and, therefore, to some
extent controllable) source. The scholia are worthless evidence for
details of the land commission, and so is Virgil. That can only redound
to the poet's credit. He has caught a mood, an atmosphere in his poems.
He is not paying back benefactors (including the heir of Caesar) for
favors, nor is he boasting of his good fortune at the expense of those who
were less fortunate. It was not Virgil who had such bad taste.

It should now be clear how extremely tenuous are the present
arguments for assigning a historical context to the *Eclogues* of Virgil. An
argument will now be advanced in support of a new date and context
for the *Eighth Eclogue*, a pastoral *certatio* between two shepherds. The
poem opens with reference to their muse:

> Pastorum Musam Damonis et Alphesiboei,
> immemor herbarum quos est mirata iuvenca
> certantis, quorum stupefactae carmine lynces,
> et mutata suos requierunt flumina cursus,
> Damonis Musam dicemus et Alphesiboei.

There follows an elaborate invocation to an unnamed patron. These
next lines are of considerable importance for the interpretation of the
Liber Bucolicon as a whole; they have the appearance of being a dis-
placed proem to the complete set of poems, and certainly they sit most
oddly within the eighth poem, which reverts, when they are over,
back to the pastoral *certatio*. Not that we should want to expel these
lines as spurious, as one recent writer has tried unconvincingly to do;[7]
but there subsists the possibility that they were added after the poem as
a whole had been composed. However that may be, let us see what they
can reveal:

> 6   Tu mihi seu magni superas iam saxa Timavi,
>   sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris, — en erit umquam
>   ille dies, mihi cum liceat tua dicere facta?
>   En erit ut liceat totum mihi ferre per orbem

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[6] Servius Auctus *ad Buc.* 9.10 (Thilo III 110.14ff): *ex oratione Cornelii in
Alfenum.*

[7] P. Levi, "The Dedication to Pollio in Virgil's Eighth Eclogue," *Hermes* 94
(1966) 73ff.

10   sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno?
      A te principium, tibi desinam. Accipe iussis
      carmina coepta tuis, atque hanc sine tempora circum
      inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus.

Modern scholars, as well as ancient, have attached this invocation to
C. Asinius Pollio, consul in 40 B.C., general, and historian, the honorand
of the *Fourth Eclogue*. Reasons for the identification are not obscure:
(1) certain ancient commentators made it;[8] (2) the reference to Illyricum
and the river Timavus (near Trieste) is conjoined with Pollio's campaign
of 39 B.C. against the Parthini and an alleged capture of Salona on the
Dalmatian coast;[9] (3) the reference to tragedy is correlated with
Pollio's attested compositions in this genre.[10] All of these reasons are
susceptible of demolition. As the career of Pollio and the poetry of
Virgil are matters of interest to students of Roman antiquity, it will be
worth while to discover wherein the prevailing hypothesis is vulnerable.

    The evidence of the scholiasts seems to be the poem itself, together
with a vague awareness of Pollio's campaigns in 39 B.C. It should be
noted, however, that Servius actually rejected the identification with
Pollio.[11] The reference to Illyricum is the key item. Many years ago,
in a brilliant article,[12] Sir Ronald Syme proved that Asinius Pollio's
provincial command after the consulate could not possibly have been in
Illyricum because the Parthini, against whom he led a victorious
campaign, dwelt within the province of Macedonia (in the hinterland of
Durazzo). Syme demonstrated further that the capture of Salona never
took place: it is pure fiction, originating in the name of Pollio's son,
Saloninus. The association of Pollio with a capture of Salona is a fine
example of scholiastic technique. The fabricator of this piece of bogus
history was unaware that the adjective Saloninus had no connection with
Salona, for which Salonitanus, not Saloninus, was the correlative

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[8] Servius Auctus *ad Buc.* 8.10 (Thilo III 93.11): *Alii ideo hoc de Pollione
dictum volunt.* Servius, however, did not make the identification with Pollio (n.
11 below).

[9] Parthini: Dio 48.41.7; App. *BC* 5.75, 320; *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.86, 342.
Salona: Servius *ad Buc.* 4.1 (Thilo III 44.4ff), a passage in which Pollio is called
ductor Germanici exercitus (!). Cf. J. J. Wilkes, *Dalmatia* (1969) 45.

[10] Cf. J. André, *La vie et l'oeuvre de C. Asinius Pollion* (1949) 31–38. Not a
single title of a tragedy by Pollio survives.

[11] Servius *ad Buc.* 8.6 (Thilo III 93.1), paraphrasing Virgil's address: *O
Auguste.* Cf. nn. 8 and 24. Note also Schol. Bern. *ad Buc.* 8.6 (ed. Hagen, 145):
Allegorice Vergilius tangit Caesarem Octavianum navigantem in Illyricum. Not
that one should assign any weight to that text.

[12] R. Syme, "Pollio, Saloninus, and Salonae," *CQ* 31 (1937) 39ff.

adjective in use at the time;[13] and he misunderstood Horace's epithet for Pollio, namely Delmaticus, which simply expressed in a more grandiloquent way Parthinicus.[14] Scholars of the history of Roman Dalmatia, notably Dr. Wilkes in his admirable new book, have fully accepted Syme's demonstration.[15]

With the annihilation of Pollio's Illyrian campaign as a part of ancient history goes the better part of the argument for associating the invocation of the *Eighth Eclogue* with the eminent consul of 40 B.C. Syme recognized the difficulty here. He perceived the fundamental implausibility of Pollio's passing along the Illyrian coast as far as Trieste, when Pollio was serving as governor of Macedonia; and he therefore conjectured that perhaps Virgil was viewing Pollio's return from the standpoint of a Mantovanus in northern Italy and imagined the governor coming home by Trieste rather than Brindisi.[16] Yet Brindisi is the obvious point at which to return from Durazzo, just as Pollio had departed from Brindisi in the previous year.[17] A return route by way of Trieste is unimaginable, unless there were some further operation of which we know nothing. It simply cannot be said of Pollio that he might be passing the rocks of the Timavus or the shore of the Illyrian sea:

> seu magni superas iam saxa Timavi
> sive oram Illyrici legis aequoris.

Of whom can this be said?

It seems that there can be but one response: the heir of Julius Caesar. In 35 B.C. Octavian launched a series of campaigns in Illyricum, and we happen to be reasonably well informed about them by virtue of the survival of Appian's *Illyrica*, which are based at this point upon Octavian's own memoirs. The tribes which submitted to Octavian are divided into three groups: those which were overcome with one stroke, those which required a greater effort, and those which caused the greatest difficulty.[18] Appian gives us the names of the tribes in the three groups, and fortunately the location of most of these tribes can be

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[13] Ibid., 45.

[14] Horace *Odes* 2.1.16. Hence Florus' reference to a Bellum Delmaticum: 2.25. Cf. Syme (above, n. 12) 42.

[15] Wilkes (above, n. 9) 45.

[16] Syme (above, n. 12) 47–48.

[17] App. *BC* 5. 64–65, 272–276; cf. Dio 48.41.7.

[18] App. *Ill.* 16. A few years earlier there had also been some kind of operations in Illyricum, so as to keep the soldiery in trim; but Octavian had not been present, nor is it known who was: App. *BC* 5.80, 338; Vell. 2.78.2. Cf. E. Gabba's new commentary on Appian, *BC* 5, ad loc.

established with a fair amount of certainty. The campaigns of Octavian in 35 B.C. have been repeatedly studied; there can be no objection to fixing in that year the submission of the tribes in Appian's second group.[19] Among these are the Carni and Taurisci, who dwelt precisely in the area surrounding Aquileia and Trieste. Others of the tribes are the Corcyreni and Meliteni, on the islands of Corcyra and Melite along the coast. As Wilkes points out, these island communities will have yielded to Octavian's forces as the fleet was sailing northward along the Dalmatian coast in 35 B.C.[20] What all this means, in respect to Virgil, is that the invocation of *Eclogue Eight* ought to be to Octavian. The references to the Timavus and to the Illyrian shore fit exactly the attested events of 35; and, it will be recalled, they fit in no way the known career of Asinius Pollio.

What about the other lines of the invocation? The reference to tragedy (*sola Sophocleo tua carmina digna cothurno*), which constituted the third argument in support of an attribution to Pollio, would, of course, be appropriate for him; but it would also fit the young heir of Caesar, who is reported to have worked with gusto on a tragedy entitled *Ajax*.[21] With that Octavian had put on the buskin of Sophocles.

The next line of the *Eclogue*'s invocation should also be inspected afresh: *A te principium, tibi desinam*. These words are appropriate for the commander-in-chief. After all, as commentators have recognized, similar words constitute the opening of Theocritus 17, mentioning Zeus in an encomium to the king.[22] And Theocritus' words may be compared, in their relevant aspect, with a line in the *Iliad* referring to Agamemnon.[23] It is worth noting here that the final line of Virgil's invocation — *inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus* — is quoted by Quintilian in an explicit address to the emperor Domitian.[24] One is allowed, therefore, to suspect that Quintilian, about a century after

[19] Wilkes (above, n. 9) 50. Cf. W. Schmitthenner, "Oktavians militärische Unternehmungen in den Jahren 35–32 v. Chr.," *Historia* 7 (1958) 189ff.

[20] Wilkes (above, n. 9) 50.

[21] Suet. *Aug.* 85.2. Octavian's *Ajax* did not turn out well, and the author ultimately destroyed what he had written. But he had begun with great enthusiasm (*magno impetu exorsus*), and it was well known that he was working on the tragedy: *quaerentibus amicis quidnam Aiax ageret*.

[22] Theocrit. 17.1: Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε Μοῖσαι. The first three words here are identical with the first three words of Aratus' *Phaenomena*. These were imitated by Virgil in *Eclogue* 3.60: *ab Iove principium, Musae*.

[23] *Iliad* 9.97: ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι.

[24] Quint. *Inst. Orat.* 10.1.92: *Nos tamen sacra litterarum colentis feres, Caesar, si non tacitum hoc praeterimus et Vergiliano certe versu testamur: inter victrices hederam tibi serpere laurus.*

Virgil, assumed that the honorand of the *Eighth Eclogue* was none other than the future emperor Augustus.[25]

The arguments advanced overturn the traditional dates for Virgil's work on the *Eclogues* and point to new termini: 42–35 B.C. It is possible that the apostrophe of *Eclogue Eight* was composed and inserted several years after the completion of the rest of the *Liber Bucolicon.* There is no way of disproving such a hypothesis. For the present, the year 35 can stand simply as the lower terminus of composition. The new date would eliminate the tiresome and, in any case, unnecessary question of what Virgil was doing between the completion of the *Eclogues* and the inception of the *Georgics*;[26] there would no longer be any gap between the two.

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[25] That is definitely what Servius thought: see n. 11 above.

[26] Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (1969) 56: "What then was he [Virgil] doing in the two years 39/8 to 37/6?"

TANGE CHLOEN SEMEL ARROGANTEM

In Memoriam E. Fraenkel

C. P. JONES

BESIDES showing Horace at his most elegant and concise, *vixi puellis* (*Odes* 3.26) has an important function in the architecture of the first three books of *Odes*. But to understand that function it is necessary to be free of a misconception.

In the first two stanzas, Horace declares that his days in the service of love are over and dedicates his weapons, *arma defunctumque bello barbiton*, to Venus. In the third, after solemnly invoking the goddess in the familiar forms of ancient prayer,[1] he begs her to give the heartless Chloe one flick of her lash. This last request is generally taken to mean that Horace wants "one more chance with Chloe."[2] The apparent inconsistency with the beginning is explained as a humorous portrayal of lovers' irresolution (Catullus' eighth poem has been invoked); it has also been suggested that Horace is deflected from his resolve by the sight of the goddess's statue.[3]

It is true that in *Odes* 4.1, which has other connections with 3.26, Horace claims that he is too old for love, only to reveal at the end of the poem an unrequited passion for Ligurinus, and this has been adduced to justify the usual interpretation of the other poem. But 4.1 has this essential difference, that from the beginning the reader is forewarned that Horace is again in love. Nor does 3.26, by its compactness and the elaborateness of the prayer to Venus, readily suggest a portrayal of vacillation.

There is a simpler interpretation which involves no such assumptions and puts the poem firmly in a tradition. It is a familiar idea of Hellenistic poetry that the nemesis of an unrequited passion awaits those who refuse to gratify the passion of others.[4] This idea, which certainly takes its

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[1] E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1923) 201f.

[2] Thus (most recently) G. W. Williams, *The Third Book of Horace's Odes* (1969) 133.

[3] Steele Commager, *The Odes of Horace: A Critical Study* (1962) 145f, invoking Catullus 8; Kiessling–Heinze ad loc.

[4] Gow on Theocritus 7.118.

origin from everyday life,[5] is of course particularly appropriate when a scorned lover prays or predicts such a fate for the beloved.[6] In a disguised form it has been recognized behind other of Horace's *Odes*, 1.25, 4.10 and 13.[7] And the same notion surely underlies 3.26: "I hereby renounce love and all its works — but, lady Venus, let Chloe feel with another the pain she has caused me."[8] The poem is still a humorous portrayal of love, but the humour lies elsewhere, in the natural vanity whereby the poet confesses only with reluctance that what has made him desist from a lifelong pursuit is not a surfeit of success, but his first failure.

3.26 can now be seen in a wider context. The poem is clearly meant to recall the Pyrrha Ode, 1.5. That is shown above all by the motif of the dedication, though in 1.5 the dedication marked the safe ending of an affair, in 3.26 the affair never began; and there the bachelor god Neptune was appropriate,[9] here the goddess of love. The two poems are also linked by a detail of technique, the delayed revelation of the poet's own involvement. It has also been observed that, just as the Pyrrha Ode is fifth from the beginning of the collection of three books, so the present one is fifth from the end:[10] Horace and his contemporaries are known to have had a predilection for the number ten, and to a lesser extent for five, in making up their books of poems.[11] The symmetrical placing of the two poems is not mere numerology. Like the familiar technique of ring composition within a single poem, so the allusion to the first love lyric of the collection in one that renounces love tells the reader that the whole work is drawing to a close.

The hint conveyed by the allusion to the Pyrrha Ode subserves a larger implication of 3.26. The poet forswears love and, simultaneously, the *barbitos* that was one of his weapons in the war of love. By the convention that equates love's warfare with erotic poetry,[12] Horace means also to convey that his lyric task is almost done: when beginning it, he had hoped for immortality if his Muse would consent *Lesboum* . . .

[5] See now the graffito from Stabiae published by L. d'Orsi, *Parola del Passato* 120 (1968) 228–230: εἴ τις καλὸς γενόμενος οὐκ ἔδωκε πυγίσαι, ἐκῖνος καλῆς ἐρασθεὶς μὴ τύχοι βεινήματος. D'Orsi accentuates πυγῖσαι, apparently not seeing that these are crude trochaic tetrameters catalectic. β(έ)ινημα is *addendum lexico*.

[6] Cf. [Theocr.] 23.33–34.

[7] E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (1957) 414–415.

[8] So, correctly, Villeneuve ad loc.: "venge-moi de ses dédains en la rendant follement amoureuse d'un autre qui ne l'aime pas ou l'aime peu."

[9] Surely *deo* in line 16.

[10] W. Wili, *Horaz* (1948) 182.

[11] Fraenkel, *Horace*, 112 n. 1.

[12] Ibid., 413.

tendere barbiton (1.1.34). In other words, he extends the notion of erotic poetry to cover all his lyric *oeuvre*, of which love poetry is of course only a part. In exactly the same way, Horace represents his return to the *genre* in the fourth book as the resumption of love's warfare — *intermissa, Venus, diu rursus bella moves?* — even though erotic poems form only a small proportion of that book.[13] It is not only internal consistency, therefore, but also its part in the whole collection, that enjoins the present interpretation of 3.26. For Horace to gainsay his renunciation would have been to spoil the point.

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[13] Ibid.

THE MICHIGAN ALCIDAMAS-PAPYRUS:
A PROBLEM IN METHODOLOGY

For George Koniaris

Robert Renehan

IN *TAPA* 56 (1925) 120–129, "A New Fragment on the Life of
Homer," J. G. Winter published and discussed Michigan papyrus
2754, a papyrus of the "second or early third century A.D." The pub-
lication of this papyrus touched off a minor scholarly controversy which
still continues; a text of the papyrus is given below (accents and breath-
ings have been added for the convenience of the reader):[1]

<div style="text-align:center">

   1   οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντες αὐτὸν ἐσχεδίασαν τόνδε τὸν
στίχον· "ὅσσ' ἕλομεν λιπόμεσθ', ὅσσ' οὐχ ἕλομεν
φερόμεσθα." ὁ δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος εὑρεῖν τὸ λε-
χθὲν ἤρετο αὐτοὺς ὅ τι λέγοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἐ-
   5   φ' ἁλιείαν οἰχόμενο[ι ἀγρ]εῦσαι μὲν οὐδέν, καθή-
μενοι δὲ φθειρίζεσθαι, τῶν δὲ φθειρῶν οὓς ἔλα-
βον αὐτοῦ καταλιπεῖν, οὓς δ' οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐν
τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἐναποφέρειν. ἀναμνησθεὶς δὲ
τοῦ μαντείου, [ὅτι] ἡ καταστροφὴ αὐτῷ τοῦ
  10 βίου ἧκεν, ποιεῖ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπίγραμμα τόδε·
"ἐνθάδε τὴν ἱερὴν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα κάλυ-
ψε ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα θεῖον Ὅμηρον."
καὶ ἀναχωρῶν πηλοῦ ὄντος ὀλισθάνει καὶ πε-
σὼν ἐπὶ πλευρὰν οὕτως, φασίν, ἐτελεύτησεν.
  15 περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν † ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ποι-
ήσομεν † μάλιστα δ' ὁρῶν τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θαυ-
μαζομένους. Ὅμηρος γοῦν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ζῶν
καὶ ἀποθανῶν τετίμηται παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ-
ποις. ταύτη[ ] οὖν αὐτῷ τῆς παιδείας χάριν ἀ-

</div>

2 ἕλομεν: ελαβον (bis) Π; cf. ll.6–7   7 καταλιπεῖν: καταλιποιεν Π   13
πηλοῦ: παληου (h.e. παλαιοῦ) Π   15 ποιεῖσθαι: πονεῖσθαι Dodds   ποιήσομεν:
πειρασόμεθα Page: πειράσομεν Solmsen   19 ταύτην Winter: ταύτης Körte
παιδιας Π

[1] The papyrus is also published by Page in the Loeb Hesiod, pp. 624–626,
and Kirk in *CQ* 44 [1950] 151.

20   ποδιδό[   ]νος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ποί-
      ησιν δι᾽ ἀγ[   ]είας μνήμης τοῖς βουλομέ-
      νοις φι[λοκαλ]εῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν
      παραδῶ[μεν].
                   [Ἀλκι]δάμαντος
25   περὶ Ὁμήρου

20 ἀποδιδῶ[μεν ἀγ]ῶνος Winter: ἀποδιδό[ντες τὸ γ]ένος Page   21 ἀκ[ριβ]είας
Korte: ἀχ[χιστ]είας Winter   22 φιλοκαλεῖν suppl. Hunt   23 παραδῶμεν
Winter: παραδῶ Dodds

Lines 1–14 of the papyrus so closely resemble the conclusion of the
Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi (lines 327–338 Allen) that, as Kirk
observes (p. 151), "either direct interdependence or a common source
must be acknowledged." In 1870 Nietzsche first propounded the theory
that the source of the *Certamen* (which, in its present form, can be
approximately dated by a reference in line 33 to the emperor Hadrian)
was the lost Μουσεῖον of Alcidamas; a small literature has since sprung
up around this theory. The subscription of the papyrus [Ἀλκι]δάμαντος
was pronounced by Winter a "certain restoration." The grounds for
this are two: (1) the couplet (lines 78–79)

      ἀρχὴν μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἄριστον,
      φύντα δ᾽ ὅμως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀΐδαο περῆσαι.

which occurs in our *Certamen* is cited by Stobaeus from the Μουσεῖον
of Alcidamas; (2) in the *Certamen* itself Alcidamas is quoted (lines
239-240): ὥς φησι Ἀλκίδαμας ἐν Μουσείῳ. The present paper will not
concern itself with the general problem of the sources of the *Certamen*,
but only with the nature of the Michigan papyrus.

In 1950 G. S. Kirk opened anew discussion of the papyrus;[2] the
reader is referred to Professor Kirk's article for a lucid summary of the
controversy up to that time and for full references to the earlier litera-
ture. The reader will have observed that the style of lines 1–14 is quite
different from that of the rest of the papyrus; Kirk writes (page 151):
"Körte, in his sane and succinct account of the papyrus, observes that
there are seven instances of hiatus in these fourteen lines, some of them
extremely inelegant. Alcidamas, however, entirely avoided hiatus, and
indeed in the rest of the papyrus hiatus is absent. Körte draws the
conclusion that 'Alkidamas in dem ausgeschriebenen Stück ein altes
Volksbuch genau wiedergibt': *but if this passage is not by Alcidamas
there is a second alternative, that it is a later interpolation*" (my italics).

[2] *CQ* 44 [1950] 149–167.

Kirk goes on to argue that lines 1–14 are written in Κοινή Greek and that therefore they cannot be by Alcidamas. (Alcidamas was a student of Gorgias; his exact dates are not known. Pfeiffer[3] considers Alcidamas to be "perhaps slightly older than Isocrates," who was born in 436 B.C.) Kirk's arguments for Κοινή will be given below in his own words. In 1952 E. R. Dodds accepted Kirk's conclusion that lines 1–14 are written in Κοινή: "Körte showed on stylistic grounds that while lines 15–23 can well be the work of Alcidamas, as the subscriptio asserts, lines 1–14 can hardly have been composed by him. And Kirk has now shown that they can hardly have been quoted by him either, since their language appears to be Κοινή."[4] In 1967 M. L. West reexamined the papyrus; he argued against Kirk's evidence for Κοινή and proposed to return "to the simple view that the Michigan papyrus is Alcidamas, Homer's death and all."[5] Most recently G. L. Koniaris has written on this problem; his paper, which I have read only in an earlier version, appears for the first time in this volume of the *Harvard Studies*, but through the extreme courtesy of Professor Koniaris I was able to read in typescript the unrevised version. It would not be proper for me to discuss contra the details of a hitherto unpublished paper, but with Professor Koniaris' permission I may state here that he believes that Kirk's view that lines 1–14 are written in Κοινή is probably correct; he himself adds as a further indication of a late date ἐναποφέρειν in line 8.[6]

I propose to argue that the evidence for Κοινή Greek in lines 1–14 is totally inadequate and inconclusive; my method will be to examine separately and in detail each word that has been adduced as an indication of a late date. (For a different method of evaluating the probable date of composition of lines 1–14 see Professor Koniaris' paper. Our approaches to the problem of probabilities differ; this is an important question and the two papers should be read in conjunction. *Pro se quisque iudicet.*)

(1) "φασίν in οὕτως φασὶν ἐτελεύτησεν at l. 14 smacks of post-Alexandrian scholarship." Kirk (page 154). West offers no arguments against this statement. Surely this *undocumented* assertion is too vague to

[3] *A History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 50.
[4] *CQ* 46 [1952] 187–188.
[5] *CQ* 61 [1967] 433–450; the quotation occurs on page 435.
[6] The present paper was conceived as a direct result of reading Professor Koniaris' paper and corresponding with him about it. We come to different conclusions, but that is no matter to friends and scholars. I have tried to indicate publicly how much I am in Professor Koniaris' debt for the genesis of this article by venturing to dedicate it to him. The reader is strongly urged to consult his learned and carefully reasoned paper.

take us very far. Since φασί *c. acc. et inf.* and ὥς (ὥσπερ) φασι are commonplace in all periods, including the Attic period, presumably it is the simple, parenthetic usage of φασί = *dicunt, inquiunt* which "smacks of post-Alexandrian scholarship." For this evidence to be valid one would have to demonstrate that parenthetic φασί is used exclusively by post-Alexandrian scholars (whoever is intended to come under this category) or at least that φασί so used is especially typical of such writers and unusual elsewhere. One would expect a parenthetic φασί, "they say," to be as natural an expression in (any period of) Greek as it is in English; there is no apparent reason why it should be the property specifically of post-Alexandrian scholars. Nor in fact was it. The following examples of parenthetic φασί are not intended to be complete, but merely adequate to retrieve φασί from the special domain of post-Alexandrian scholarship:

Euripides frag. 1006 Nauck

> οὐχ ἑσπέρας, φάσ’, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεσημβρίας
> τούτους ἀφεστήκασιν ἡμέραν τρίτην

Aristophanes *Lysistrata* 188 (*s.v.l.*)

> εἰς ἀσπίδ’, ὥσπερ, φάσ’, ἐν Αἰσχύλῳ ποτέ,

Plato *Gorgias* 523a

> ἄκουε δή, φασί, μάλα καλοῦ λόγου

Aristotle *EN* 1109a34–35

> κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον, φασί, πλοῦν τὰ ἐλάχιστα ληπτέον τῶν κακῶν.

Menander *Epit.* 223–224

> ἀγνὴ γάμων γάρ, φασίν, ἡμέραν τρίτην
> ἤδη κάθημαι

Menander *Pk.* 101

> ταῦτα μὲν δή, φασίν, εὔχθω

Menander frag. 447 Koerte

> τὸ λεγόμενον τοῦτ’ ἔστι νῦν
> τἄνω κάτω, φασί, τὰ κάτω δ’ ἄνω

"Atticizers" such as Lucian, Aristides, Aelian, and Philostratus constantly employ parenthetic φασί; see W. Schmid's standard work *Der Attikismus* for numerous references. Others may provide more Attic examples of parenthetic φασί; I make no claims to an exhaustive search. Certainly a usage which occurs in Euripides, Aristophanes, Plato,

Aristotle, and Menander should not be adduced as evidence of Κοινή Greek. A word which is adequately attested for the classical period, no matter how frequent its occurrences later (that Professor Kirk provides none for φασί is irrelevant; they do exist) is an unsatisfactory tool for postdating a work.

(2) "φθειρίζομαι (Aristotle, Theophrastus, Apollodorus). Contrast φθεῖρας κατακτείνοντας in Heraclitus fr. 56 (Diels)." Kirk. West (page 436) counters "φθειρίζομαι . . . is used by Aristotle, and presupposed by φθειριστική, which appears in Plato, *Soph.* 227B. Alcidamas would have been more likely to use this than the clumsy φθεῖρας κατακτείνω of Heraclitus." We may expand on these remarks. First of all, Kirk himself refutes the force of the parallel with Heraclitus; writing to a different purpose later in his paper (page 159) he states that "κατακτείνω is essentially an epic and Ionic verb. It is rare even in classical prose, and occurs but once in Herodotus and twice in Xenophon, who occasionally used Ionic words. There is no late use of it, and it is certainly not the word which Hippolytus or any Patristic writer would employ; he would use, for φθεῖρας κατακτείνοντες, the verb φθειρίζομαι which occurs in all the Lives which describe the lice-riddle, and presumably in the ὑπόμνημα, and which we do not find before the fourth century B.C." According to Kirk himself, therefore, we should not expect to find the locution φθεῖρας κατακτείνειν in Alcidamas. (I should point out, since no one seems to have remarked it, that φθεῖρας κατακτείνειν and φθειρίζεσθαι are *not* exact synonyms; the former means quite literally "to kill lice," the latter simply "to delouse oneself.") Secondly, West's inference that Plato's φθειριστική presupposes φθειρίζομαι is quite legitimate and reasonable. Thirdly, one should recall that the corpus of pre-fourth-century Greek is relatively small; the absence of the word for "delousing oneself" from this corpus of *literature* may well be accidental and is readily understandable. Would not one have to look long and diligently in the "classics" of English literature to find the locution "delouse oneself?" Fourthly, to dismiss out of hand the language of authors such as Aristotle, Xenophon, and Theophrastus as "Κοινή" is quite arbitrary, It is true that neologisms which were not used by earlier Attic writers occur in these authors; language is always changing. But one should remember that Xenophon was an associate of Socrates just as much as Plato and that Aristotle was a student in Plato's Academy for twenty years, leaving only when Plato died. In general, all these men wrote and spoke essentially the same language; it is rash and arbitrary to assume that a word which has not survived in a writer earlier than Aristotle was not used before him. I remind the reader that it is the

exception and due to special circumstances (say, the coinage of a new philosophical or medical term or of a new poetic compound) when the oldest extant example of a word is in fact the oldest actual occurrence of that word. I further remind the reader that it is the exception when the oldest actual occurrence of a word is a *written* occurrence at all and not rather an *oral* one. (This latter is surely the case with so homely a word as φθειρίζεσθαι!) Any particular word or usage, therefore, in a "borderline" author such as Aristotle or Theophrastus must be examined by itself to determine, if possible, whether we are dealing with a new "non-Attic" entry or an Attic entry which by accident survives only in Aristotle, say, or Xenophon. In many cases our conclusion must be *non liquet*; in the case of φθειρίζομαι it seems to me intrinsically probable that the word is older than Aristotle.

(3) "ἁλιεία (Aristotle, twice, Strabo). ἁλεία is a still later form." Kirk. West replies "This occurs twice in Aristotle, and is the expected noun corresponding to the regular Attic ἁλιεύομαι, ἁλιεύς. There is no reason why Alcidamas should not have used it." [Koniaris correctly points out that one of the two "Aristotelian" instances, *Oec.* 1346b20, is from a spurious work.] I agree with West that there is no reason why Alcidamas could not have used it. Aristotle's dates are 384–322 B.C.; Alcidamas' dates are to be put sometime between the years 440 B.C. and 340 B.C. To deny ἁλιεία to Alcidamas is to assume that the word was invented during Aristotle's lifetime, if not actually by Aristotle himself. That is to say, we deny ἁλιεία to Alcidamas while assuming that it was coined at a time when Alcidamas was quite possibly still alive. I cannot believe that we are in a position to be so precise about the time of the first actual occurrence of a Greek word, for the reasons stated above in my discussion of φθειρίζομαι. Now, ἁλιεία occurs in Aristotle's *Politics* 1256a36. Aristotle *may* have coined this word of commonplace meaning specifically for that passage and fate *may* have decreed that ἁλιεία be brought to birth in one of the relatively few *surviving* works of ancient Greek. Possible but improbable. But there is further pertinent evidence for ἁλιεία which no one has adduced (presumably because the entry in LSJ is deficient in this respect). In addition to Alcidamas' περὶ Σοφιστῶν, which is commonly accepted as genuine, there has come down under his name a mock forensic speech, the Ὀδυσσεύς, a work similar in kind to Gorgias' *Palamedes*. The genuineness of this work is disputed and there is never likely to be a common consensus of scholars on this question. For our purposes it is important to remember that some authorities do accept it as a genuine product of Alcidamas and it has not yet been demonstrated with certainty that it is not by him. (The

most recent handbook of Greek literature, A. Lesky's, states simply: "Wir haben unter seinem [sc. Alcidamas'] Namen auch eine *Anklagerede des Odysseus* gegen Palamedes, deren Echtheit aber Zweifeln unterliegt.")[7] There has long been a reaction against the wholesale condemnation of "spurious" works, which was so much in vogue in the nineteenth century. (A reaction, incidentally, which sometimes only slowly finds its way into the handbooks.) That one of Gorgias' most distinguished students should compose an *Odysseus* against Palamedes hardly offends verisimilitude. The most recent editor of Alcidamas is Ludwig Radermacher, who prints the remains in his *Artium Scriptores: Reste der voraristotelischen Rhetorik* (1959). Radermacher prints the Ὀδυσσεύς as a genuine work by Alcidamas. Friedrich Blass, perhaps the greatest authority in such matters, concluded that the work was not by Alcidamas. But hear his words: "Ich brauch aber nicht zu erinnern, dass unecht und nachclassisch nicht dasselbe ist, und stammt sie nur wirklich aus der classischen Zeit, so verdient sie nicht weniger als die andre [sc. περὶ Σοφιστῶν] hier eine Besprechung."[8] And here is his judgment of the *Odysseus*: "Zunächst ist nun zu sagen, dass die Sprache nicht nur keine Spuren nachclassischer Färbung zeigt, sondern auch in bemerkenswerthem Grade rein und gut ist, trotz des schlechten Zustandes, in dem die Rede auf uns gekommen."[9] Blass himself thought that the sophist Polycrates, an older contemporary of Isocrates,[10] might be the author.[11] *In the* Ὀδυσσεύς *which the most recent editor, Radermacher, believes to be a genuine work of Alcidamas and which Blass pronounces to be a composition written by a contemporary of Alcidamas the word* ἁλιεία *occurs:* τούτῳ πατήρ ἐστι πένης, ὄνομα Ναύπλιος, τέχνην ἔχων ἁλιείαν (c. 12). In view of this, for anyone to persist in regarding ἁλιείαν in the papyrus as a proof of a post-Alcidamean, Hellenistic date would be indiscreet. The *Odysseus* may in fact turn out to be a Hellenistic production, but in the present state of our knowledge we can have no confidence in "evidence" of postclassical diction when the evidence in question reappears in that work.

(4) ἐναποφέρειν. Professor Koniaris believes this word (in line 8) a further sign of postclassical composition. (Incidentally, we ought not to forget that εναποφερειν is only a restoration in the papyrus, though apparently the specialists are satisfied of its correctness. Winter, who

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[7] *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*[2] (1963) 388.
[8] *Die attische Beredsamkeit*[2] II 360.
[9] Ibid., II 362.
[10] Isocrates *Busiris* 50.
[11] *Die attische Beredsamkeit*[2] II 363.

observed that there was too much space for ἐναποφέρειν, proposed
ἔνθ᾽ ἀποφέρειν, which will not do.) Koniaris points out that in the
περὶ Σοφιστῶν Alcidamas writes νομίζω . . . τὴν λήθην αἰσχρὰν ἐν τοῖς
ἀγῶσι γίγνεσθαι (18) and ἐνθυμήματα . . . τοῖς λόγοις ἔνεστιν (19).
Such locutions suggest to him that the repetition of the preposition:
ἐν . . . ἐναποφέρειν is not in keeping with Alcidamas' style. I do not
feel the force of this objection; such *varietas scribendi* is common and it
is especially with literal *local* expressions (as in the papyrus) that the
prepositional phrase tends to be reinforced in the verb. He rightly
stresses that compounds in ἐναπο- are frequent in later Greek, even
where the ἐν- is otiose. It is, in fact, a characteristic of *Κοινή* Greek to
use compound verbs where Attic Greek preferred the simplex. However,
in the papyrus each preverb bears the normal force: "They said that . . .
they were carrying *away in* their clothing . . ." Compounds in ἐναπο-,
where each preverb has its full meaning, are adequately attested for the
classical period:

(1)	ἐναπεργάζομαι	(Plato, Isocrates [*v.l.*])
(2)	ἐναποβάπτω	("Hippocrates")
(3)	ἐναποδείκνυμι	(Herodotus)
(4)	ἐναποδέω	("Hippocrates", Plato)
(5)	ἐναποθνήσκω	(Herodotus, Thucydides, Phrynichus Comicus)
(6)	ἐναποκλάω	(Thucydides)
(7)	ἐναπολαμβάνω	(Plato, Aristotle)
(8)	ἐναπολείπω	(Aristotle, Xenocrates)
(9)	ἐναπόλλυμαι	(Xenophon)
(10)	ἐναπολογέομαι	(Aeschines)
(11)	ἐναπονίζω	(Herodotus, Polyzelus)
(12)	ἐναποπατέω	(Aristophanes, Polyzelus)
(13)	ἐναποπλύνω	(Aristotle)
(14)	ἐναποσβέννυμι	(Aristotle)
(15)	ἐναποτιμάω	([Demosthenes] 53.20)
(16)	ἐναποτίνω	(Aristophanes)
(17)	ἐναποψύχω	(Hesiod)
(18)	ἐναφάπτω	(Aristotle)
(19)	ἐναφίημι	(Herodotus, Aristotle)

(For the exact references see LSJ; "Hippocrates" refers in each instance
to a Hippocratic work which is generally admitted to be early.) The
frequency of ἐναπο- compounds in postclassical Greek in which the ἐν-
is otiose is irrelevant to our purpose; I see no reason why, if classical
authors used ἐναποδέω, ἐναποκλάω, ἐναπολαμβάνω, and similar com-
pounds in their literal meaning, they could not have so used ἐναποφέρω.

(Let us not forget that the papyrus may in fact contain a classical example of ἐναποφέρω; this is what we are trying to determine.) The reason for the rarity (or absence) of ἐναποφέρω is no further to seek than the meaning of the word: there would not have been that many occasions to say "carry away in" and, when such occasions did arise, a Greek was still free to express this sense in a variety of ways without ever employing the compound ἐναποφέρειν. That such was the case is confirmed by the postclassical attestation of ἐναποφέρω: LSJ cite exactly *one* example, Libanius *Declamatio* 43.56 . . . ὥστ', εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ τῶν τεκόντων φύσει τοὺς παῖδας ἐναποφέρεσθαι, ταύτης ἂν εἶεν παῖδες . . . [Förster regards this *declamatio* as spurious.] The entry in LSJ reads as follows: "ἐναποφέρω, in Med., *receive by heredity*, τι τῶν τεκόντων Lib. *Decl.* 43.56." A transferred meaning in the middle voice where the ἐν- seems to have little force (compare LSJ s.v. ἀποφέρω B. Med.). Stephanus' *Thesaurus* provides a second postclassical example: τῇ βασιλίδι δῶρον ἀξιόθεον ταύτην ἐναποφέρουσιν (*Anon. De inventione capitis sancti Ioannis*, *Acta Sanctorum Iunii* V, p. 630E). That is all to my knowledge — despite the fact that the postclassical corpus of Greek is considerably larger than the classical corpus. Three fundamental principles may be stated here:

(i) A word which survives only in postclassical authors, if it is of rare occurrence even there and if there is an obvious reason why it would not be of common occurrence at *any* period, should not be used as evidence for dating.

(ii) In general, a word which occurs *often*, and *exclusively* in postclassical authors is significant. A word which occurs *chiefly* in postclassical authors is less good evidence but, under certain conditions, may be used with some probability. A word which is adequately attested for the classical period, no matter how frequent its occurrences later, should not be used as evidence for a late date. All that is here set down is subject to the obvious principle that

(iii) In employing statistics a certain *minimal sampling* is necessary before probable results of any validity can be obtained.

(5) "σχεδιάζω = 'improvise' (Polybius, Diodorus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Philodemus). The classical word, and that used frequently by Alcidamas himself in π. τῶν τοὺς γραπτοὺς λόγους γραφόντων [= περὶ Σοφιστῶν], is αὐτοσχεδιάζω: here haplography with the immediately preceding αὐ]τὸν is a possibility, but such an inelegant juxtaposition is unlikely to have been permitted by Alcidamas even in a quotation, or indeed to have been perpetrated in the first instance." Kirk. This is the most serious objection and at first glance seems

decisive, for Alcidamas does in fact use αὐτοσχεδιάζω eight times. West retorts (page 436): "In noting that, even if there has been corruption, αὐτοσχεδιάζω is not likely to have been used immediately after αὐτόν, Kirk suggests an answer to himself: although Alcidamas uses it regularly in his περὶ τῶν τοὺς γραπτοὺς λόγους γραφόντων (*Soph.* for short), the αὐτόν would have been a sufficient reason for his using σχεδιάζω here. The word is attested three times in the fourth century: in P. Hibeh 13. i. 12, of careless argument; in Anaxandrides fr. 15. 3, of improvising on a musical instrument; and in the pseudo-Platonic *Sisyphus*, of speaking off the cuff. It cannot be shown that Alcidamas could not have used it of the boys who met Homer and set him a riddle on the spur of the moment." West does not seem to me to have answered Kirk's argument convincingly. Haplography, as Kirk noted, is a possible solution, but not, I think, a very likely one. If the compound had been used, the collocation would have been αὐτὸν ηὐτοσχεδίασαν. (That is, αὐτὸν ηὐτο- is not so easy a haplography as αὐτὸν αὐτο-; whether Professor Kirk had reflected on this I do not know.) The papyrus gives ἐσχεδίασαν, and it is most probably correct; we must try to deal with it, not evade it as a corruption. Nor ought we to argue that the simplex was used to avoid the "inelegant juxtaposition" αὐτὸν ηὐτοσχεδίασαν. *Pace* Kirk and West, I do not believe that any of us are now in possession of so refined a knowledge of the niceties of the ancient Greek tongue as to pronounce with confidence that such a juxtaposition would have seemed elegant or inelegant (or neither!) to a Greek. I note that Thucydides could write οὗτος αὐτοσχεδιάζειν (1.138.3), and Xenophon τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοσχεδιάζειν (*HG* 5.2.32); less close but perhaps pertinent is Plato *Phaedrus* 236d ποιητὴν ἰδιώτης αὐτοσχεδιάζων. But no matter; I concede to Kirk that ἐσχεδίασαν is sound.

The orthodox view is that αὐτοσχεδιάζω is Attic, σχεδιάζω Koinē, and this is the basis of Kirk's objection. (The point was disputed in antiquity; see Schmid, *Der Attikismus* IV 376: "σχεδιάζω, was man (s.z.B. Thom. Mag. p. 15, 10) nach Antiatt. p. 83, 5 fälschlich für attisch hielt, steht im Sinn von αὐτοσχεδιάζω [sc. in the writings of Philostratus and others] . . . Mit Antiatt. stimmt Moeris p. 43 überein."[12] This view of the relationship of αὐτοσχεδιάζω to σχεδιάζω is, as will be seen, an oversimplification, but let us, for convenience, make it our point of departure. The obvious question, which no one seems to have

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[12] The entry in the *Antiatticista* reads αὐτοσχεδιάζειν· οὐ σχεδιάζειν, ὡς οἴονται. Ἰσοκράτης Εὐαγόρᾳ, Θουκυδίδης πρώτῳ.

asked, is *why* the simplex σχεδιάζω began to replace the compound verb (in contrast, be it recalled, to the general tendency of Koinē Greek). I have made a study of the history of these two words and of the approximate synonym ἀποσχεδιάζω. The results of my investigations have a bearing on the present problem, and I may be permitted to present them here in detail. I propose first to list all the occurrences known to me of these three verbs[13] in the *forms* in which they occur (for a reason which will appear presently). My lists are complete, I believe, for the classical period; for the postclassical period I cannot guarantee their completeness. If some examples have escaped me, nevertheless I think that I have collected enough of the extant occurrences to ensure that my figures are representative and illustrate adequately actual usage.

I. αὐτοσχεδιάζω

(1)	Thucydides 1. 138.3	αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(2)	Plato *Euthyphro* 5a	αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα
(3)	——— *Euthyphro* 16a	αὐτοσχεδιάζω
(4)	——— *Apology* 20c	αὐτοσχεδιάζωμεν
(5)	——— *Cratylus* 413d	αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(6)	——— *Phaedrus* 236d	αὐτοσχεδιάζων
(7)	——— *Menexenus* 235c	αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(8)	——— *Menexenus* 235d	αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(9)	——— *Euthydemus* 278e	αὐτοσχεδιάσαι (? Burnet and

others print the well attested variant ἀπαυτοσχεδιάσαι, which may be a conflation of two variants: ἀποσχεδιάσαι and αὐτοσχεδιάσαι.)

(10)	Alcidamas *Soph.* 13	αὐτοσχεδιαζόντων
(11)	——— *Soph.* 13	αὐτοσχεδιάζοντας
(12)	——— *Soph.* 14	αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ
(13)	——— *Soph.* 22	αὐτοσχεδιάζοντας
(14)	——— *Soph.* 31	αὐτοσχεδιαζόντων
(15)	——— *Soph.* 32	αὐτοσχεδιάζομεν
(16)	——— *Soph.* 33	αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(17)	——— *Soph.* 34	αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(18)	Isocrates 9.41	αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(19)	Strattis frag. 4 Demiańczuk	αὐτοσχεδιασθείς
(20)	Xenophon *Mem.* 3.5.21	αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν
(21)	——— *Hell.* 5.2.32	αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(22)	Aeschines 3.158	αὐτοσχεδιάζῃ
(23)	Aristotle *Pol.* 1326b19	αὐτοσχεδιάζειν

[13] I have not listed Christian and Byzantine examples; such examples, however, support my conclusions. See, e.g. Lampe's *Patristic Greek Lexicon* s.v. σχεδιάζω.

(24) [Demosthenes] 61.43   αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(25) [Plato] *Sisyphus* 390b   αὐτοσχεδιάζοντες
(26) Philodemus *Voll. Rhet.* 2.22.16   αὐτοσχεδιάζοντες
(27) —— —— *Voll. Rhet.* 2.76   αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(28) Dionysius Hal. *Comp. Verb.* c. 25   αὐτοσχεδιάζει
(29) Demetrius *Eloc.* 224   αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα
(30) Dio Chrysostom 34.42   αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(31) Plutarch *Demosthenes* 850c   αὐτοσχεδιάζοντα
(32) —— —— *Moralia* 652b   αὐτοσχεδιάσαι
(33) [Plutarch] *Moralia* 848c   αὐτοσχεδιάζοιμι
(34) [Plutarch] *Moralia* 848c   αὐτοσχεδιάσας
(35) Lucian *Pseudologista* c.5   αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(36) Aristides 1.236   αὐτοσχεδιάζω
(37) —— —— 2.187   αὐτοσχεδιάζων
(38) Philostratus *VA* 1.284.10 (Kayser)   αὐτοσχεδιάσεις
(39) —— —— *VS* 2.34.11   αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(40) —— —— *VS* 2.47.23   αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(41) —— —— *VS* 2.85.6   αὐτοσχεδιάζοι
(42) —— —— *VS* 2.97.28   αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(43) —— —— *VS* 2.98.32   αὐτοσχεδιάσαι
(44) Themistius *Or.* 25 p. 310b   αὐτοσχεδιάζειν
(45) Schol. ad Eur. *Hec.* 3   αὐτοσχεδιάζει

II. σχεδιάζω

(1) Pap. Hibeh 13.1.12   σχεδιάζοντες
(2) Anaxandrides frag. 15.3 K.   ἐσχεδίασε
(3) [Plato] *Sisyphus* 388e   σχεδιάζοντα
(4) Polybius 12.4.4   ἐσχεδίασεν
(5) —— —— 23.9.12   ἐσχεδιακότες
(6) LXX. Baruch 1.19   ἐσχεδιάζομεν
(7) Philodemus *Voll. Rhet.* p. 100.10   σχεδιάζειν
(8) —— —— *Voll. Rhet.* p. 123.35   σχεδιάζουσιν
(9) Diodorus Siculus 1.23   σχεδιάζειν
(10) —— —— 1.69   ἐσχεδιάκασιν
(11) —— —— 13.31   σχεδιάζειν
(12) Dionysius Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.7.1   σχεδιάζειν
(13) Soranus 2.65 (p. 144.3 Hude)   σχεδιάζοντος
(14) Philostratus *VS* 2.3.13   σχεδιάζειν
(15) —— —— *VS* 2.5.7   σχεδιάζειν
(16) —— —— *VS* 2.10.29   σχεδιάσαι
(17) —— —— *VS* 2.40.1   ἐσχεδίαζε
(18) —— —— *VS* 2.41.4   σχεδιάζειν
(19) —— —— *VS* 2.42.19   σχεδιάσαι
(20) —— —— *VS* 2.83.8   σχεδιάζοντος

(21)	———— *VS* 2.86.32	σχεδιάζειν
(22)	———— *VS* 2.88.22	σχεδιάζειν
(23)	———— *VS* 2.89.26	σχεδιάζειν
(24)	———— *VS* 2.101.4	σχεδιάζειν
(25)	———— *VS* 2.125.27	σχεδιάζειν
(26)	———— *VS* 2.126.14	σχεδιάζειν
(27)	Iamblichus *VP* 213	σχεδιάζοντας
(28)	Schol. ad Aristoph. *Aves* 873	ἐσχεδίασται

(A note on the dates of the two earliest occurrences of σχεδιάζω: Pap. Hibeh 13.1.12 is dated 280–240 B.C.; it discusses the supposed influence of music on morality. The editors, Grenfell and Hunt, comment: "The author is evidently very ancient, for he speaks of the ἁρμονία or enharmonic system as still in wide use, whereas by the time of Aristoxenus it had almost disappeared: cf. Plut. *Mus.* 37, Westphal, *Metrik der Griechen*, i. pp. 420–421." Blass thought that the famous fifth-century Sophist Hippias might be the author; Grenfell and Hunt pronounced this a "happy suggestion." In Diels–Kranz *Vorsokr.*[10] II.334 it is termed a "vage Hypothese." Plays of the comic poet Anaxandrides can be dated by inscriptions from 382 to 349 B.C. Fragment 15 comes from his *Herakles*. On the assumption that the restoration ῾Ηρακ]λεῖ in *IG* XIV 1098.5 is correct, the date of this play, according to Edmonds [*The Fragments of Attic Comedy* II 52. n. a], is proved to be "before 375." This is not certain.)

III. ἀποσχεδιάζω

(1)	Aristotle *EN* 1129b25	ἀπεσχεδιασμένος
(2)	Polybius 12.3.7	ἀπεσχεδίακεν
(3)	Philodemus *Sign.* 38	ἀπεσχεδιασμένα
(4)	Dio Chrysostom 31.116	ἀποσχεδιάζοντος
(5)	Aelian *Tact.* 21.2	ἀπεσχεδιασμένην
(6)	Ptolemaeus *Geog.* 1.18.3	ἀποσχεδιάσασιν
(7)	Athenaeus 3.125c	ἀπεσχεδίασε
(8)	——— 8.337b	ἀπεσχεδιακέναι
(9)	Philostratus *VA* 1.198.29	ἀποσχεδιάζειν
(10)	——— *VS* 2.12.1	ἀπεσχεδίαζεν
(11)	——— *VS* 2.23.18	ἀποσχεδιάζοντος
(12)	——— *VS* 2.82.19	ἀποσχεδιάζων
(13)	[Lucian] *Amores* c. 50	ἀπεσχεδιάσθαι
(14)	Julian *Ep.* 89a p. 453b	ἀποσχεδιάζω
(15)	Themistius *Or.* 6 p. 77d	ἀπεσχεδίαζεν
(16)	Schol. ad Aristoph. *Pacem* 990	ἀποσχεδιάζουσιν
(17)	Schol. ad Aristoph. *Vespas* 544	ἀποσχεδιάζοντος
(18)	Schol. ad Aristoph. *Vespas* 1169	ἀπεσχεδίασται

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The first fact that appears from these figures is that the equation
αὐτοσχεδιάζω = Attic, σχεδιάζω = Koinē, is an oversimplification
which is not borne out by the evidence. αὐτοσχεδιάζω continued to be
used — and not only by extreme "Atticists" — alongside of σχεδιάζω
(and ἀποσχεδιάζω). The second significant fact is that the assumption
that Alcidamas would not have used *both* αὐτοσχεδιάζω *and* σχεδιάζω
receives no support from the practice of other, better preserved authors:
Plato uses both αὐτοσχεδιάζω and ἀπαυτοσχεδιάζω (*s.v.l.*): Aristotle
and Themistius use both αὐτοσχεδιάζω and ἀποσχεδιάζω; the author
of the pseudo-Platonic *Sisyphus* and Dionysius of Halicarnassus use
both αὐτοσχεδιάζω and σχεδιάζω; Polybius uses both ἀποσχεδιάζω
and σχεδιάζω; Philodemus and Philostratus use all three. Philodemus'
testimony is especially pertinent because he uses both αὐτοσχεδιάζω
and σχεδιάζω (twice apiece) in exactly the rhetorical sense that
αὐτοσχεδιάζω has in Alcidamas, that is to say, in explicit contrast to τὸ
γράφειν. But the most striking detail that emerges from these figures is
that not one of the forty-five examples of αὐτοσχεδιάζω is an augmented
or reduplicated form (there are a few aorist participles and infinitives).
This is in marked contrast to σχεδιάζω (seven out of twenty-eight
forms are augmented or reduplicated) and ἀποσχεδιάζω (ten out of
eighteen forms are augmented or reduplicated). This discrepancy is not
likely to be accidental. Nor can we explain it by distinguishing the
meanings of these three verbs; they are roughly synonymous. σχεδιάζω
means to "improvise" and may be applied to any sphere of activity,
exactly as its English equivalent. αὐτοσχεδιάζω differs from σχεδιάζω
only insofar as the αὐτο- makes explicit that the improvised action is
one's own work; this notion is implicit in σχεδιάζω by virtue of the very
meaning of the word. The force of ἀπο- in ἀποσχεδιάζω is, I suppose,
somewhat similar to that of αὐτο- in αὐτοσχεδιάζω: the improvisation
springs *from* oneself. The English "offhand" conveys something of
this meaning. How then are we to explain these figures? I suggest the
following explanation. Augmented and reduplicated forms of αὐτο-
σχεδιάζω would begin ηὐτοσχεδ-; for example, ηὐτοσχεδίασα aorist,
ηὐτοσχεδίακα perfect. Such forms beginning ηὐτοσχεδ- bore a re-
semblance to verbs beginning with a normal ηὐ- augment or reduplica-
tion; the literal force of the αὐτο- concealed beneath ηὐτο- thus became
obscured, thereby obviating to some extent the very reason for
expressing the αὐτο- in the first place.[14] That the Greeks were sensitive

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[14] Verbs such as αὐτομολέω, αὐτοματίζω, αὐτονομέομαι are not analogous. In
these verbs the αὐτο- could not be dropped without changing the meaning
fundamentally (or, rather, without the verbs ceasing to exist).

to such things is shown by their practice with verbs beginning in εὐ-. Lautensach, *Grammatische Studien zu den griechischen Tragikern und Komikern* (quoted by Murray, OCT Euripides, vol. 3, p. iii) makes the following observation: "Die von Zusammensetzungen mit εὖ abgeleiteten Verben zeigen, im Unterschied von den Verben mit dem Stammanlaut ευ-, niemals eine besondere Augmentation." This practice is confirmed by the evidence of inscriptions and papyri. Thus, for example, in a verb such as εὐεργετέω, the Greeks were reluctant to form an aorist in ηὐεργέτησα because ηὐ- would diminish the force of the preverb. Similarly, in the case of αὐτοσχεδιάζω the Greeks seem to have felt this: at least the figures given above would suggest this. On the basis of them I propose the following "law": forms of αὐτοσχεδιάζω beginning in ηὐτο- tended to be avoided in all periods.[15] The use of σχεδιάζω for αὐτοσχεδιάζω seems to have begun, in part at least, in the augmented and reduplicated tenses and spread from there; such phenomena are common in linguistics.

The extant evidence demonstrates clearly that the preferred verb in Attic Greek was αὐτοσχεδιάζω; σχεδιάζοντες of the Hibeh papyrus proves that this preference was not absolute. Whoever the author of this fragment was, he was a Sophist writing very possibly in the fifth century, if not then, certainly in the fourth century. The crucial question for us is whether augmented and reduplicated tenses of σχεδιάζω were used in preference to forms of αὐτοσχεδιάζω *already in the classical period*. ἐσχεδίασε is attested for Anaxandrides and ἀπεσχεδιασμένος for Aristotle. This is not much, to be sure, but by contrast we do not have a single example of an augmented or reduplicated form of αὐτοσχεδιάζω *even from the postclassical period*, where such forms of σχεδιάζω and ἀποσχεδιάζω are abundantly attested. The result of this investigation is clear: we can no longer pronounce with confidence that ἐσχεδίασαν of the papyrus proves that the author of these lines cannot have written in the classical period.

Such are my reasons for believing that not one of the words adduced to prove that lines 1–14 of the Michigan papyrus must be written in Koinē Greek is conclusive. To demonstrate how deceptive such linguistic evidence can be, I have investigated the vocabulary of the περὶ Σοφιστῶν, which is admitted to be by Alcidamas. I list here some of the

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[15] L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* s.v. αὐτοσχεδιάζω, col. 2566, seems to have been aware of this: " . . . Nicetas Chon. Annal p. 361 C: *Νῦν μὲν τόνδε νῦν δ' ἐκεῖνον ἐκ τῆς εὐγενοῦς φυταλιᾶς ηὐτοσχεδίαζον αὐτοκράτορα* ubi notandum etiam imperf. verbi apud veteres vix extra praesens usurpati."

words which occur in that short treatise and the earliest occurrences of
them that have survived elsewhere:

(1) εὐεπίθετος (c. 3). LSJ recognize only the meaning "easy to set
upon or attack"; in Alcidamas the word means "easy to apply oneself to,"
"easy to employ oneself in" (see LSJ s.v. ἐπιτίθημι B.III.1). This
meaning is unattested elsewhere.

(2) ὁμοδρομεῖν (c. 7). This word is found in Maximus Astrologus (1st
cent. B.C.?), "Timaeus Locrus" (1st cent. A.D.?), Pap. Michigan 1 (an
astrological papyrus), Plutarch.

(3) δυσανάληπτος (c. 19). This word is used by Julian (4th cent. A.D.);
the adverb is quoted by Oribasius (4th cent. A.D.) from the physicians
Athenaeus (1st cent. A.D.) and Rufus (2nd cent. A.D.).

(4) συγχέω (c. 20). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1st cent. B.C.), "Deme-
trius" (1st cent. A.D.?), and Plutarch use this verb.

(5) αὐτοματισμός (c. 25). This word occurs in a spurious Hippocratic
treatise, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Josephus (1st cent. A.D.), and Phlegon
(2nd cent. A.D.).

⎰(6) δυσεπικούρητος (c. 21).
⎱(7) συνερείπω (c. 25). These two words are unattested elsewhere.

Let us disregard εὐεπίθετος with its unattested meaning and
δυσεπικούρητος and συνερείπω, which are *hapax eiremena*; Greek is a
language with an unusually rich vocabulary. This still leaves us with
four words which are not found elsewhere before the first century B.C.
(or later).[16] The four words which Kirk adduces as evidence of Koinē
are all certainly attested for the fourth century B.C.! Are we to conclude
that the περὶ Σοφιστῶν is a postclassical forgery? Hardly. The correct
conclusion to be drawn is simply this: we should remind ourselves that
the greater bulk of classical Greek has perished and that therefore our
knowledge of classical Greek diction is imperfect. The use of lin-
guistic evidence to date a document is a valid procedure, but it has its
limitations which should be recognized. (I am not arguing for total
skepticism; far from it. In many cases this linguistic procedure can
give certain results. The language of the New Testament, for example,
quite apart from the content, proves conclusively that the New Testa-
ment could not be a fifth-century Attic Greek writing. Conversely,
despite the manuscript statement, there is no doubt that the Ἀθηναίων
πολιτεία was written not by Xenophon in the fourth century but in the
fifth century in "early" Attic Greek. Had we fourteen pages of papyri

[16] αὐτοματισμός in "Hippocrates" *Acut. (Sp.)* 57 is a possible exception. The
argument is not affected.

and not fourteen lines of simple narrative, it is very possible that a certain answer to the problem of date would have been forthcoming.)

Objections have been raised against lines 1–14 on grounds not only of diction but of style: these lines are discrepant with the style of the rest of the papyrus and with Alcidamas' style as we know it elsewhere. West's simple and sensible comment (page 435) accounts for many of the supposed discrepancies: "A difference of style between the two sections of the papyrus text is inevitable. One is narrative, the other is manifesto." It remains true that there are some hiatuses in lines 1–14 and none in the remaining lines. West's attempt to account for these by deletion and transposition seems unsatisfactory to me; we cannot evade the problem by rewriting the papyrus. Kirk writes "Alcidamas . . . entirely avoided hiatus." What does this mean? It means that hiatus is avoided in *one* treatise, the περὶ Σοφιστῶν. If the *Odysseus* is by Alcidamas, it is not true. What Alcidamas' practice was in his lost works we do not know; however, precisely in the case of Alcidamas, because of the nature of his work, it is possible to make a very probable conjecture. Sir David Ross in the *OCD* characterizes Alcidamas as follows: ". . . [he] studied under Gorgias and led the orthodox branch of Gorgias' followers, while Isocrates led the innovators; the difference consisted largely in the fact that Alcidamas emphasized the importance of *a power of improvisation* resting on wide knowledge, while Isocrates excelled in dialectical skill and *delicacy of language* . . ." (my italics). Surely, if extensive specimens of Alcidamas' improvisations had survived, they would not show an absolute avoidance of hiatus *à la* Isocrates, because such strict avoidance can be achieved only through studied and time-consuming composition and that is just what Alcidamas did *not* do, as he himself tells us: περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς αὐτοσχεδιασμοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων δεῖ μόνον τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, τοῖς δ' ὀνόμασιν ἐκ τοῦ παραυτίκα δηλοῦν (*Soph.* c. 18).

Indeed, it is perfectly possible, although not demonstrable, that Alcidamas' avoidance of hiatus in the περὶ Σοφιστῶν is in fact untypical of his style (written *and* oral). In this work, written against οἱ τοὺς γραπτοὺς λόγους γράφοντες, he may have deliberately avoided hiatus and introduced other niceties of style specifically to demonstrate to his opponents that he was just as capable as they of elaborate written composition. Nor does it follow that an author's treatment of hiatus remains uniform throughout his writings. The classic example of a writer whose practice with respect to hiatus varies in his different writings is Plato. Kirk observes (page 151) that lines 15–23 (in contrast to lines 1–14) are "written in a tortuous and pretentious style which

accords well with what we know of Alcidamas' writings — Aristotle's criticisms in *Rhetoric Γ* 3.1406a seem to be well deserved." In the passage in question Aristotle sets down and illustrates four specific causes of the frigid style: the use of compound words, the use of strange words (γλῶτται), the use of long or inappropriate or excessively frequent "epithets," and the use of certain metaphors. I fail to see that Aristotle's strictures are particularly relevant to lines 15–23, where the only compound (φιλοκαλεῖν) seems unexceptionable and is a restoration to boot. The writings of Aristotle himself are as good an example as any of the dangers of placing much weight in such generalizations. Cicero describes Aristotle's style as a *flumen orationis aureum* (*Acad.* 2.119). This hardly applies to the extant works; we now know that Cicero was referring to Aristotle's lost literary dialogues. Aristotle normally admits hiatus; he avoids it sometimes — for example, in the first book of the *Metaphysics* (a book in which Aristotle borrows from his lost literary dialogue, the *Protrepticus*).[17]

But all objections on grounds of style, hiatus, and diction fall to the ground if lines 1–14 were taken over by Alcidamas from another's work. (It will be recalled that Kirk and Dodds could not consider this possibility, because they regarded lines 1–14 to be in Koinē, that is to say, later than Alcidamas.) This position has been restated most recently by Rudolf Pfeiffer:

Alcidamas, perhaps slightly older than Isocrates, was in favour of the improvisation of speeches in practice and theory. He regarded the epic rhapsodes as improvisators and himself as continuing the rhapsodic tradition in oratory; it may have been in the same tradition that he took up and retold the old popular story of the "Contest of Homer and Hesiod" in αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, "improvising," of which we found the first traces in the sixth century. This treatise of Alcidamas was probably a part of a larger book with the title Μουσεῖον (which originally means "shrine of the Muses"); it is tempting to attribute to the same book the other fragments of Alcidamas dealing with poetry.[18]

This position still seems to me the most probable. The papyrus contains the end of that section of the Μουσεῖον which treated of Homer (as many have assumed). This explains why lines 15–23 could seem to Kirk to be an epilogue and to Dodds a prologue. They are both. We have seen that Stobaeus quotes from the Μουσεῖον of Alcidamas a

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[17] See W. Jaeger, *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 27–28 [1956] 150–156 (= *Scripta Minora* II, 483–489).

[18] *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 50; Pfeiffer gives other references.

couplet which occurs in the *Certamen*. There is no reason to doubt the correctness of Stobaeus' statement; he quotes the couplet from the Μουσεῖον because it occurred there. However, these verses occur with variations in a number of passages, some of which are earlier than Alcidamas. They occur in Theognis, and close paraphrases of one or both verses are found in Bacchylides. Sophocles, and Euripides.[19] That is to say, they are traditional verses. We have, therefore, at least one example of traditional material incorporated into the Μουσεῖον. This is evidence, slight though it be, for Alcidamas' practice; it is positive support for believing lines 1–14 to be a piece of traditional matter incorporated by Alcidamas (with adaptations, no doubt). There is another piece of evidence. I have argued, against Kirk and Dodds, that ἐσχεδίασαν in line 1 of the papyrus may date from the classical period. Besides the papyrus nine accounts (if we include two accounts in Tzetzes) of the fatal riddle of the lice have come down to us. Kirk prints them all conveniently in parallel columns.[20] In the other accounts the riddle is introduced by a form of εἶπον or ἀποκρίνομαι (or simply by ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο); ἐσχεδίασαν occurs *only in the papyrus*. The value of *improvisation* was the main theme of Alcidamas' teaching.[21] Is this coincidence?

I may close by calling attention to a curious inconsistency. In the preceding pages I have argued at length that lines 1–14 cannot be demonstrated to be *necessarily* Koinē Greek. I have *not* demonstrated that they could not have been written in Hellenistic or even Roman times; the evidence is simply inconclusive. However, Kirk, believing lines 1–14 to be in Koinē, accepts lines 15–23 as by Alcidamas. Dodds (page 434) agrees that lines 15–23 are by Alcidamas, "*as the subscriptio asserts*" (my italics). West apparently took no exception to this; in summing up the positions of Kirk and Dodds, he writes "The occurrence in a papyrus of part of the Hellenistic contest narrative *in conjunction with what is agreed to be a piece of Alcidamas' Museum . . .*" (my italics). The *subscriptio* of the papyrus preserves only [   ]δαμαντος. Winter, as we saw, described Ἀλκιδάμαντος as a "certain restoration." Let us review the grounds which make Ἀλκιδάμαντος, if not a certain, at least a highly probable, restoration. (1) The *Certamen* cites the Μουσεῖον of Alcidamas. (2) Stobaeus quotes a couplet which occurs in

[19] See B. A. Van Groningen's commentary on Theognis, verses 425–428, for full references and citations.

[20] Pages 164–165; they may be found in vol. 5 of Allen's Oxford edition of Homer (except Tzetzes' *Exeg. in Iliadem*, p. 37 Hermann).

[21] Winter, *TAPA* 56 [1925] 127, also noticed this, but had no need to elaborate on it since he was writing before the controversy began.

the *Certamen* and gives as the source the Μουσεῖον of Alcidamas. Alcidamas, and in particular his Μουσεῖον, therefore, has some connection with the *Certamen*. (3) The papyrus contains an account of Homer's death which is almost verbatim with the conclusion of the *Certamen*. In other words: *the restoration* ['Aλκι]δάμαντος *is confirmed by the contents of lines* 1–14. If lines 1–14 are written in Koinē and 15–23 a separate piece of Greek, there is not the slightest probability in the restoration ['Aλκι]δάμαντος. Alcidamas did not, to our knowledge, write a work περὶ 'Ομήρου and proper names terminating in -δάμας. are numerous in Greek. To pretend that we can detect in lines 15–23 (lines, be it remembered, which are damaged, partially corrupt, and still only imperfectly understood!) so clear traces of Alcidamas' "style" as to justify the restoration would be a classic example of hindsight. If only lines 15–25 of the papyrus had survived no one would be calling it, as it is commonly called, the "Alcidamas-Papyrus." In sum, we must either accept the entire papyrus as a fragment of Alcidamas or pronounce it an obscure piece of Greek of unknown authorship.[22]

ADDENDUM

Since submitting this paper to the *Harvard Studies* I have noted the following additional examples of parenthetic φασί in classical prose (see above, pp. 87–89):

(1) Andocides 3.26: ναί, φασί τινες, ἂν Κόρινθόν τε φυλάττωμεν . . .
(2) Plato *Phaedo* 69c: εἰσὶν γὰρ δή, [ὥς] φασίν οἱ περὶ τὰς τελετάς, "ναρθηκοφόροι μὲν πολλοί . . ."
(3) —— *Leges* 714c: τίθεται δήπου, φασίν, τοὺς νόμους . . .
(4) —— *Leges* 714d: ἆρ' οὖν οἴει, φασίν, ποτὲ . . .

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[22] A further objection raised against lines 1–14 is an apparent lack of continuity between lines 14 and 15. I do not feel the force of this objection; line 14 ends with the death of Homer, line 15 begins περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν . . . There is no apparent break here. In any event, line 15 is, as West observes, "unintelligible, and agreed to be corrupt by all except the first editor." So long as this remains the case, we should be hesitant to affirm a lack of connection. One suggestion: Winter, Page, Kirk, Dodds, and West all construe the opening of line 15 περὶ τούτου as *neuter*, "on this subject"; may τούτου not rather be masculine and refer to Homer? As I believe the papyrus to be by Alcidamas, I suspect that ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρετήν is sound; it is the kind of artificial coinage for which Aristotle criticizes Alcidamas. The phrase is modeled on the frequent usage of ποιεῖσθαι with a noun as a periphrasis for a verb (ὀργὴν ποιεῖσθαι = ὀργίζεσθαι, τὰς μάχας ποιεῖσθαι = μάχεσθαι κτλ.). περὶ τούτου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρετήν = περὶ 'Ομήρου ἀρεταλόγος εἶναι; in such locutions singular (τὴν ἀρετήν) and plural (τὰς ἀρετάς) are equally possible.

(5) ——— *Leges* 889a: ἔοικε, φασίν, τὰ μὲν μέγιστα . . .
(6) ——— *Leges* 968e: . . . ἢ τρὶς ἕξ, φασίν, ἢ τρεῖς κύβους βάλλοντες . . .

Compare also *Leges* 646a, where parenthetic φαμέν occurs: ἆρ᾽ οὖν πονηρότατος, φαμέν, ὁ τοιοῦτος.

BOSTON COLLEGE

MICHIGAN PAPYRUS 2754
AND THE *CERTAMEN*

GEORGE LEONIDAS KONIARIS

FR. Nietzsche[1] believed that the *Certamen* was compiled in the age of Hadrian by someone who drew his material predominantly from the Μουϲεῖον of Alcidamas.[2]

Nietzsche's theory became more attractive with the discovery of the Flinders Petrie papyrus,[3] which belongs to the third century B.C. and consists of forty-eight lines corresponding closely to a portion of the text of the *Certamen*.[4] This papyrus proved that the *Certamen* was not an invention of Hadrian's age but existed at least four hundred years earlier. J. P. Mahaffy (see note 3 above) did not hesitate to identify the content of the Flinders Petrie papyrus as a fragment of Alcidamas' Μουϲεῖον.

A column of a papyrus roll discovered in excavations at Karanis in 1924–1925 added fuel to the question of the sources of the *Certamen*.[5] The papyrus, numbered 2754 in the University of Michigan collection, reads as follows:

[1] Fr. Nietzsche, "Der Florentinische Tractat über Homer und Hesiod, ihr Geschlecht und ihren Wettkampf," *RhM* 25 (1870) 528ff; 28 (1873) 21ff. Nietzsche edited the text of the *Certamen* in *Acta Societatis Philologae Lipsiensis* I 1 (Lipsiae 1871) 1–23.

[2] For a brief review in English of the main theories on the sources of the *Certamen* after Nietzsche (some agree with Nietzsche, others disagree, and still others seek a compromise between the two views), one may consult J. G. Winter, "A New Fragment on the Life of Homer," *TAPA* 56 (1925) 121–124; G. S. Kirk, "The Michigan Alcidamas-Papyrus," *CQ* 44 (1950) 149–150.

[3] Published first by J. P. Mahaffy, *Cunningham Memoirs* (1891) pl. xxv, Commentary, 71–73.

[4] One may see the two texts side by side in Ernst Vogt, "Die Schrift vom Wettkampf Homers und Hesiods," *RhM* 102 (1959) 206–208.

[5] The text of the pap. I offer at the beginning of the present paper. For photographic reproductions of the pap. see Winter (above, n. 2), pl. A, and Vogt (above, n. 4) 210. I personally examined the papyrus at Ann Arbor in the winter of 1968.

οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντε[ς αὐ]τὸν ἐσχεδίασαν τόνδε [τὸ]ν
στίχον· ὅσσ᾽ ἔλ[αβ]ο[ν] λ[ι]πόμεσθ᾽ ὅσσ᾽ οὐκ ἔλαβον
φερόμε[σ]θα. ὁ δὲ οὐ δυνάμενος εὑρεῖν τὸ λε-
χθὲν ἤρετο αὐτοὺς [ὅ, τι] λέγοιεν. οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἐ-
5 φ᾽ ἁλιείαν οἰχόμενο[ι ἀγρ]εῦσαι μὲν οὐδέν, καθή-
μενοι [δ]ὲ φ[θ]ειρ[ί]ζεσ[θ]αι, τῶν δὲ φθειρῶν οὓς ἔλα-
βον αὐτοῦ κατα[λ]ίποιεν, οὓς δ᾽ οὐκ ἔλαβον ἐν
τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἐναποφέρειν. ἀναμνησθεὶς δὲ
τοῦ μαντε[ίο]υ, [ὅτι] ἡ καταστραφὴ αὐτῶι το[ῦ]
10 βίου ἧκεν, π[οι]εῖ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπίγραμ[μ]α τό[δ]ε·
ἐνθάδ[ε] τὴν ἱε[ρὴ]ν κεφαλὴν κατὰ γαῖα κάλυ-
ψε ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων κοσμήτορα θεῖον Ὅμηρ[ο]ν.
καὶ ἀν[α]χωρῶν πηλοῦ ὄντος ὀλισθάνει καὶ πε-
σὼν ἐπὶ πλευρὰν οὕτως, φασίν, ἐτελεύτησεν.
15 περὶ τούτου μὲν οὖν ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ποι-
ήσομεν μάλιστα δ᾽ ὁρῶν τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θαυ-
μαζομένους. Ὅμηρος γοῦν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ζῶν
καὶ ἀποθανὼν τετίμηται παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ-
ποις· ταύτη[ς] οὖν αὐτῶ⟨ι⟩ τῆς παιδίας χάριν ἀ-
20 ποδιδό[ντες τὸ γ]ένος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἄλλη[ν] ποί-
ησιν διὰ β[ραχ]είας μνήμης τοῖς βουλομέ-
νοις φι[λοκαλ]εῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὸ κοινὸν
παραδῶ[μεν]

[Ἀλκι]δάμαντος
περὶ Ὁμήρου

2 ἔλ[αβ]ο[ν] . . . ἔλαβον instead of ἔλομεν . . . ἔλομεν (*Certamen*). The
mistake obviously was caused by the influence of ἔλαβον . . . οὐκ ἔλαβον of
lines 6–7.   5 καθημένο[ῡ] pap.   7–8 εντ τοις pap.   8 ἐναποφέρειν
Körte, Page, Kirk. ἔ[ν]θ᾽ ἀποφέρειν Winter.   12 ανθρων pap.   13
ἀν[α]χωρῶ παληου pap. παληοῦ developed from a corrupt πηλοῦ (*Certamen*)
perhaps in the sequence ΠΗΛΟΥ > ΠΑΛΟΥ > ΠΑΛΟΥ (the superscript H meant
to be a correction of α to η) > παληοῦ (in subsequent copying).   15 West
assumes a lacuna between ποιεῖσθαι and τὴν ἀρετήν. Körte is inclined to
delete ποιεῖσθαι, Dodds changed it to πονεῖσθαι. ποιήσομεν pap., πειράσομεν
Fr. Solmsen, πειρασόμεθα Page, ποιήσομαι Dodds.   16 ορων pap., ὁρῶν⟨τες⟩
Winter, ὁρῶ Dodds.   17 The letter μ of Ὅμηρος is clearly visible
in the pap. There is no room for any doubt about it. Körte's ὁδηγός must be
abandoned.   19 ταύτη[ς] Körte (in the course of this paper we shall argue
that it is the correct supplement). ταύτη[ν] Winter (Kirk, Dodds, West).   20
ἀποδιδό[ντες] Page, ἀποδιδῶ[μεν] Winter. [τὸ γ]ένος Page, Dodds (powerful
binoculars reveal that the letter before νος most probably is ε. One clearly sees
two dots which very likely mark the two ends of the semicircle of an epsilon,
and a third dot between the two which may represent the right end of the
horizontal stroke of an epsilon). ἀγῶνος Winter.   21 διὰ β[ραχ]είας
West, δι᾽ ἀχ[χιστ]είας Winter, δι᾽ ἀκ[ριβ]είας Körte.   22 φι[λοκαλ]εῖν Hunt.
23 παραδῶ[μεν] Winter, παραδῶ Dodds.

Of the twenty-three lines of the papyrus the first fourteen correspond almost verbatim to the end of the *Certamen*. As the papyrus stands with its *coronis*, [᾽Αλκι]δάμαντος / περὶ ῾Ομήρου most probably is a *sub-scriptio*.

Winter, the first editor of the papyrus, optimistically concluded (page 124) that with the discovery of the Michigan papyrus the view of Nietzsche and his followers was confirmed conclusively. But two years later Körte observed that lines 1–14, because of their frequent ad-mittance of hiatus, could not have been composed by Alcidamas, who avoids hiatus.[6] He concluded that lines 1–14 are excerpts from an old *Volksbuch* cited by Alcidamas.[7]

About two decades after Körte's paper Kirk argued (page 154) that lines 1–14 are in Κοινή and as such can only be a later interpolation in Alcidamas. Kirk observed that (a) σχεδιάζω = "improvise" is a later word, the corresponding classical word being αὐτοσχεδιάζω; (b) ἁλιεία is used first by Aristotle (twice) and only later becomes common (also spelled ἀλεία); (c) φθειρίζομαι, as opposed to the earlier φθεῖρας κατακτείνω (cf. Heracl. frag. 56 Diels), occurs first in Aristotle; (d) φασίν at line 14 smacks of post-Alexandrian scholarship.

Kirk's argument, that lines 1–14 are in Κοινή, convinced Dodds,[8] who, however, disagreed with Kirk's conclusion that lines 1–14 are an interpolation in Alcidamas. Dodds, observing that lines 15–23 are clearly an excerpt from a proem, concluded that the Michigan papyrus is the end of a book of quotations about Homer derived from different sources and closing with an excerpt from Alcidamas' preface to his Μουσεῖον.

Körte, Kirk, and Dodds agreed on one significant point, that lines 1–14 of the Michigan papyrus were not composed by Alcidamas. But the certainty of this point has lately been disputed by West, who took the view that "the Michigan papyrus is Alcidamas, Homer's death and all, and that earlier in the same book there stood an account of Hesiod's death closely resembling *Cert.* §§13–14, lines 215–239, and before that an account of the contest closely resembling *Cert.* §§5–13, lines 54–214."[9]

In the present paper I shall argue against West, although agreeing with him that [᾽Αλκι]δάμαντος is the correct restoration. If it is not the correct restoration, then obviously West's thesis becomes untenable a

[6] A. Körte, "Literarische Texte mit Ausschluss der Christlichen," *Arch. f. Pap.* 7 (1927) 261, 264.

[7] Körte (above, n. 6) 263. For theories concerning the *Volksbuch*, see e.g. Kirk (above, n. 2) 150.

[8] E. R. Dodds, "The Alcidamas-Papyrus Again," *CQ* n.s. 2 (1952) 188.

[9] M. L. West, "The Contest of Homer and Hesiod," *CQ* n.s. 18 (1961) 435.

priori. All seem to agree that lines 15–23 belong to Alcidamas. Some
doubts, however, should reasonably be maintained. The state of the
papyrus seems to allow for]ΔΑΜΑΝΤΟC a supplement of up to
four, possibly five, letters. Proper names with -δάμας as the second
component are frequent in Greek, and such names as Ἀστυδάμας,
Δημοδάμας, Ἑρμοδάμας, Εὐρυδάμας, Ἱπποδάμας, Λεωδάμας, Πο(υ)-
λυδάμας, κτλ. fit the situation paleographically. Let us not forget, after
all, that we know of no treatise by Alcidamas bearing the title περὶ
Ὁμήρου (if these two words are the title of the treatise), and of no
treatise by Alcidamas either dedicated to Homer and Homeric poetry
(that Alcidamas wrote a contest of Hesiod and Homer is only a hypo-
thesis) or to Homer, Hesiod, and other poets.

Concerning lines 15–23 of the papyrus, there is perhaps stylistic
evidence that the passage does not belong to Alcidamas. Notice in line 15
the sequence περὶ τούτου, μὲν οὖν. In Alcidamas' περὶ Σοφιστῶν, μὲν
οὖν always comes in the second position (cf. especially §18 περὶ μὲν οὖν
τοὺς αὐτοσχεδιασμούς; §19 ἐνθυμήματα μὲν οὖν ὀλίγα). One would
expect Alcidamas to have written in line 15 περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτου. Also
the word ἱστορικός (cf. ἱστορικούς of line 16) in the meaning
"historian" (as substantive) so far as we know appears for the first
time in Aristotle (*Poetics* 1451b1). Nor is it easy to argue that here
ἱστορικούς does not mean "historians," but generally "scientists."
According to LSJ, the word ἱστορικός as substantive (and here most
probably it is a substantive) means only "historian" so far as we know.

West arguing cleverly succeeds in weakening Kirk's linguistic
arguments and in casting doubt on Dodds's conclusion. He fails,
however, to establish the possibility that lines 1–14 of the Michigan
papyrus belong to Alcidamas, while his attempt to bring lines 1–14 into
a logical coherence with lines 15–23 amounts to a sequence of im-
probabilities. To minimize the significance of hiatus in lines 1–14, West
contended (page 436) that the words ὅτι ἡ καταστροφὴ αὐτῷ τοῦ βίου
ἧκεν, which contain three instances of hiatus, are "an explanatory
addition by a copyist for whom the earlier mention of the oracle
seemed too far back for instant recall." This is an arbitrary assumption.
Do only copyists make such explanatory additions? It seems to me
that West simply obscures the issue to escape an inextricable difficulty
when, in order to minimize the significance of hiatus, he says (page 436)
that the corresponding text in the *Certamen* in these three instances of
hiatus has "a variation of wording in which the hiatus either disappears
or appears in a different place." The *Certamen* has come to us anony-
mously. Consequently, during its period of transmission as an un-

protected, anonymous piece, it may have suffered considerably by additions, transpositions, and changes. But the papyrus bears the *subscriptio* [’Αλκι]δάμαντος περὶ ‘Ομήρου, and if lines 1–14 and 15–23 are a unit belonging to Alcidamas, as West believes, they must be considered a priori protected from such highhanded treatment because the text is assigned to an author. If so, West argues fallaciously when he utilizes the text of the *Certamen* to minimize the significance of the appearance of hiatus in the papyrus.[10]

West's argument (page 435), that the difference in style between lines 1–14 and 15–23 is an inherent necessity since lines 1–14 are "narrative" and lines 15–23 are "manifesto," seems to me too vague to bear weight against the χωρίζοντες. I find no reason to believe that, for example, the total avoidance of hiatus in lines 15–23 has anything to do with the fact that this part is a manifesto and the previous part a narrative. It is an arbitrary assumption that a writer's style changes when in a given work he passes from narrative to manifesto.

West (page 436) defends σχεδιάζω as Alcidamean on the grounds that the word occurs "three times in the fourth century: in the P. Hibeh 13. i. 12, of careless argument; in Anaxandrides fr. 15. 3, of improvising on a musical instrument; and in the pseudo-Platonic *Sisyphus* [387e], of speaking off the cuff." Are we to forget, however, that Alcidamas in περὶ Σοφιστῶν uses αὐτοσχεδιάζω eight times, αὐτοσχεδιαστικός four times, αὐτοσχεδιαστός twice, αὐτοσχεδιασμός three times, but *never* σχεδιάζω etc.? Are we to forget that in the (fifth and) fourth century B.C. with only the three aforementioned exceptions, the Greek authors, so far as we know, use only αὐτοσχεδιάζω while later σχεδιάζω becomes a common word? In addition words such as σχεδίασμα, σχεδιαστικῶς, σχέδιος, κτλ. (meaning "improvisation") are later compared with such words as αὐτοσχεδίασμα, αὐτοσχεδιασμός, αὐτοσχεδιαστής, αὐτοσχεδιαστικός, αὐτοσχεδιαστός, κτλ. (again meaning "improvisation").

At this point it is imperative that we should try to establish the probable date for a *Certamen* supposedly composed by Alcidamas, so that the terms "earlier" and "later" may become more meaningful. Isocrates and Alcidamas were the two most distinguished students of Gorgias (d. 376 B.C.). It is very probable that they were approximately the same age; Rudolf Pfeiffer considers it possible that Alcidamas was a little older than Isocrates.[11] Isocrates' year of birth is known to be

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[10] West uses the same type of reasoning when he argues (p. 436) that the use of ἐσχεδίασαν (for ηὐτοσχεδίασαν) in the Michigan pap. is inconsequential because the word does not occur in the *Certamen* version.

[11] *A History of Classical Scholarship from the Beginning to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968) 50.

436 B.C. If the same year is the approximate date for Alcidamas' birth, then in the year 350 B.C. Alcidamas (if still alive) was about eighty-six years old. It is, then, very likely that most of his works (assuming that Alcidamas lived down to and beyond 350 B.C. and was literarily productive beyond 350 B.C.) were written before 350 B.C. Therefore, it is most likely that the text appearing on the Michigan papyrus, if belonging to Alcidamas, was written before 350 B.C. — somewhere between 416 B.C., when Alcidamas was about twenty years of age, and 350 B.C., that is, minimizing the margin for error, around the year 383 B.C., when Alcidamas was about fifty-three years old. We must then understand that linguistic evidence of the second part of the fourth century should be used cautiously in such arguments as to whether Alcidamas could use σχεδιάζω, ἁλιεία, and the like c. 383 B.C.

West cites with approval J. S. Souilhé, who dates the *Sisyphus* "au temps d' Aristote ou peu après."[12] A compromise, then, between "the time of Aristotle" and "soon after the time of Aristotle" for the composition of *Sisyphus* is the year 322 B.C., which marks the philosopher's death. If so, the pseudo-Platonic *Sisyphus* of c. 322 B.C. can hardly be considered relevant evidence on how probable it is that σχεδιάζω existed in any text written c. 383 B.C. — let alone in a text written by a specific author, Alcidamas.

The further evidence afforded by the P. Hibeh 13 is of greater interest, but again is far from conclusive. I find it very hard to accept Blass's suggestion that these lines, mediocre from the point of both form and meaning and displaying not a shred of πολυμαθία, may belong to the famous fifth-century Sophist Hippias of Elis. I see full justification for Diels–Kranz *Vorsokr.*[10] 334 where Blass's suggestion is labeled a "vage Hypothese." I agree with West, who treats the text of this papyrus as a product of the fourth century, while the papyrus itself belongs physically to the third century (c. 280–240 B.C. according to Grenfell and Hunt, *The Hibeh Papyri* I [1906] 45). If nothing else, σχ[εδιά]ζοντες is wholly unparalleled in the fifth century B.C. I cannot draw any conclusions, however, — nor does West — as to how close to 384 B.C. we can place the content of this papyrus. The "enharmonic system" upon which Grenfell and Hunt base their arguments for an early date is not revealing. Notice that the ἁρμονικοί in col. 1 line 2 are referred to as τιν[ες] and this may indicate that there were relatively few followers of the "enharmonic system" easily accommodated in the second part of the fourth century B.C. That in col. 2 lines 18–21 the "tragedians" (probably meaning chorus members of Greek tragedies

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[12] J. Souilhé in the Budé *Platon* XII (3), 65.

and/or actors rather than writers, because ἐφ' ἀρμονίας ἄιδειν indicates performers rather than writers of tragedy) are presented as regularly singing songs connected with the "enharmonic system" need not lead to the conclusion that the date is the first half of the fourth century. I cannot see how we can argue that, for example, in c. 340 B.C. the music of newly composed tragedies had no connection with the "enharmonic system." Furthermore, the author may refer to the par excellence tragedy of the fifth century B.C. which, we know, continued to be staged throughout the fourth century. It is not improbable to assume that by, say, 340 or even 300 B.C. the music of many fifth-century tragedies was preserved and utilized in performances whenever such old tragedies were restaged. It is even not unlikely that in a case where the old music was lost the musician of the fourth century who wrote the new score imitated the musical style of the fifth-century ἀρμονικοί. If so, reference to wide use of the "enharmonic system" in tragedy of the second part of the fourth century B.C. does not necessarily imply wide use of this system in contemporary music as a whole. Above all we must not forget that the P. Hibeh text may be a rhetorical exercise. The mediocrity of content and form of this text, in combination with the vocative ὦ ἄνδρες (col. 1 line 1) makes such a hypothesis quite tenable. Consequently there is no need to demand a synchronization of the author with these ἀρμονικοί. It may well be — as it was the frequent practice in the schools of rhetoric — that the author assumes a *persona* who lived before his time.

That Anaxandrides wrote comedies since c. 380 B.C. is reasonably certain: his first victory was in 376 B.C. That fragment 15 belongs to Anaxandrides' *Heracles* is explicitly stated in Athenaeus (14.638d) — Athenaeus being also the author who gives fragment 15: καὶ Ἀναξανδρίδης ἐν Ἡρακλεῖ· ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὐφυής τις εἶναι φαίνεται· / ὡς δ' εὐρύθμως (εὔρυθμος A: corr. Schw.) λαβὼν τὸ μελετητήριον / εἶτ' ἐσχεδίασε [could it be that Anaxandrides wrote not εἶτ' ἐσχεδίασε but ηὐτοσχεδίασε?] δριμέως †ενπαπαι, / μεστὸς γενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Ἀργᾶν βούλομαι / κωδωνίσας πέμψαι σ' ἀγωνιούμενον, / ἵνα καὶ σὺ νικᾷς τοὺς σοφιστάς, ὦ φίλε. If in *IG* XIV 1098 Ἡρακ]λεῖ is the correct supplement, then the date of *Heracles* is 376/375 B.C.[13] But the supplement may very well be Ἀχιλ]λεῖ;[14] and, since "Anaxandrides was composing from about 380 to 345,"[15] the *Heracles* may have been

[13] For a translation of the inscription see J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* II 46.

[14] See Pickard-Carnbridge–Gould–Lewis, *The Dramatic Festivals of Athens*[2] (1968) 122.

[15] Ibid., 169.

written even later than 350 B.C. Under the circumstances probability does not allow the date for *Heracles* to be earlier than c. 362 B.C., that is, ((380–345):2) + 345 = 362.

But let us assume that Ἡρακ]λεῖ is the correct restoration and that σχεδιάζω existed c. 383 B.C. However, the existence of σχεδιάζω in that period does not necessarily imply that the verb was equivalent to αὐτοσχεδιάζω. It may well be (and I wonder whether this is not what the extant evidence suggests) that σχεδιάζω in the sense "I improvise" was a word belonging to the jargon of the musicians, meaning "to improvise (while practicing [μελετητήριον = an instrument for practice (μελέτη)] ?) on a musical instrument," which Anaxandrides, a comedian, employs and which only later became the equivalent of "to improvise" in a rhetorical sense. Or it may be that σχεδιάζω at that time could also mean αὐτοσχεδιάζω in a rhetorical sense, but that the word was considered substandard and so it was not yet used in dignified prose of the period. Even if we assume that others in the first quarter of the fourth century used in their writing σχεδιάζω for αὐτοσχεδιάζω without difference in denotation and connotation, the fact that Alcidamas in περὶ Σοφιστῶν used αὐτοσχεδιάζω eight times, αὐτοσχεδιαστικός four times, αὐτοσχεδιαστός twice, αὐτοσχεδιασμός three times, but never σχεδιάζω, σχεδιαστικός, etc., makes it highly probable that σχεδιάζω did not belong to his style.

West's suggestion (page 436) that Alcidamas of the Michigan papyrus might have written ἐσχεδίασαν because of the preceding αὐτόν (avoiding αὐτὸν ηὐτοσχεδίασαν) seems to me desperate. If we suppose that the sequence αὐτὸν ηὐτ- was not admissible in Alcidamas' taste (a very doubtful assumption since in περὶ Σοφιστῶν 24 and 27 we respectively read αὐτοὶ παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν and τὴν αὐτὴν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν), it is more likely that he would have transposed αὐτόν (for example, οἱ δ᾽ αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες τόνδε τὸν στίχον ηὐτοσχεδίασαν) rather than use σχεδιάζω, which only doubtfully in his days was a synonym of αὐτοσχεδιάζω and which, in any case, he never used in the περὶ Σοφιστῶν to alleviate the monotony of αὐτοσχεδιάζω etc. Surely no one forced Alcidamas to write either αὐτὸν ηὐτοσχεδίασαν or αὐτὸν ἐσχεδίασαν.[16]

[16] Cf. n. 10. I should add that although the aor. indicative of αὐτοσχεδιάζω, as far as I was able to check, is not found in the classical texts we possess, nevertheless such aorists as ηὐτομόλησα (e.g. in Th. 3.77; Pol. 1.19.7; Lucian *Somn.* 12) in connection with the aor. participle αὐτοσχεδιασθείς in Strattis 4 D. and the Byzantine imperfect ηὐτοσχεδίαζον in Nicetas Chon. *Annal.* 361C strongly suggest that ηὐτοσχεδίασα is the aor. of αὐτοσχεδιάζω for the classical period. Let us not forget, after all, that of the conjugation of αὐτοσχεδιάζω only few forms have come down to us. It is far more reasonable to blame chance for our lack of the aor. ind. than to suppose that αὐτοσχεδιάζω was defective.

The further argument by West, that, since ἁλιεία is the expected noun corresponding to ἁλιεύομαι–ἁλιεύς and occurs twice in Aristotle, there is no reason to assume that it was not used by Alcidamas, is not necessarily convincing if one confines oneself to the extant evidence. One of the two instances of ἁλιεία in Aristotle to which West refers comes from the *Oeconomica* (οβ 1346b20 in Bonitz' *Index*). This work most probably is spurious and written in different periods from 300 B.C. to A.D. 400.[17] The other comes from the *Politica* (Πα 8.1256a36 in Bonitz' *Index*), a work which, at least in part, was written after 336 B.C. (since in 1311b2 an allusion is made to the death of Philip) and consequently does not demonstrate that ἁλιεία was used in the days of Alcidamas. The formation of the words ἁλιεύς, ἁλιεύομαι does not presuppose in time the abstract noun ἁλιεία. Thus, for example, νομεύς and νομεύω exist from at least the time of Homer, but there is no νομεία recorded in LSJ. Since on the basis of extant evidence ἁλιεία occurs first in Aristotle c. 336 B.C., it may well be that the word was coined after 350 B.C. (whether by Aristotle or someone else) by analogy to many families of words ending in -εύς, -εύω, -εία.[18]

West most probably is right in arguing (page 436) that φθειριστική in Plato *Sophista* 227b establishes the coexistence of φθειρίζομαι, so that the verb should not be used as evidence for later composition.

West offers no objection to Kirk's stylistic argument for the late composition of line 14 in the parenthetical usage of φασίν, in οὕτως, φασίν, ἐτελεύτησεν (compare, for example, the dense usage of the parenthetical φασίν and φησίν in Athenaeus as compared to their rare usage in pre-Alexandrian authors). In general, West seems to take no account of the flat style of lines 1–14, a style which can hardly be identified with the highly elaborate mode of the rhetoric of Alcidamas as we experience it in the περὶ Σοφιστῶν.[19] In the Michigan papyrus,

[17] See the article "Aristotle" by W. D. Ross in *OCD*, p. 95 right column.

[18] One is free to entertain doubts as to whether ἁλιείας in the *Politica* belongs to the hand of Aristotle, especially since ἁλιεία was extensively used later. With an author such as Aristotle whose works have suffered so much from interpolation it is only with words which occur at least twice that we can be reasonably sure they belong to the hand of Aristotle, especially if such words have never occurred in Greek before but are frequently used later.

[19] As a rule contemporary scholars (including West and Vogt) following Fr. Blass consider spurious the Ὀδυσσεὺς κατὰ Παλαμήδους προδοσίας, which has come to us under Alcidamas' name. The remarkable stylistic differences between this piece and the π. Σοφ. force me to agree. I must add that even if Alcidamas should be at some future time established as the author of the Ὀδυσσεύς, the discovery would in no way render probable the view that lines 1–14 of the Michigan pap. were written by Alcidamas or cited by him from another source; the effect of such a discovery would merely be to invalidate a few of my arguments against Alcidamean authorship of lines 1–14 of the Michigan pap.

lines 1–14, we have a series of short periods monotonously introduced
four times by the *additivum*-connective δέ; in the first three instances
the monotony is further stressed by the preceding article οἱ . . . ὁ . . . οἱ.
In Alcidamas' περὶ Σοφιστῶν, however, we experience a variegated
μακροπερίοδος λόγος. In the papyrus the author, as a rule, presents a
collocatio verborum of the static "subject + verb + object" type,
hardly more imaginative than what one usually finds in a student's
intermediate Greek composition; compare οἱ δὲ ὁρῶντες αὐτόν (line 1);
ἐσχεδίασαν τόνδε τὸν στίχον (lines 1–2); οὐ δυνάμενος εὑρεῖν τὸ λεχθέν
(line 3); ἤρετο αὐτοὺς ὅ τι λέγοιεν (line 4); οἱ δὲ ἔφασαν ἐφ᾽ ἁλιείαν κτλ.
(lines 4–5); ἀγρεῦσαι οὐδέν (line 5); ἀναμνησθείς . . . τοῦ μαντείου
(lines 8–9); ἡ καταστροφὴ τοῦ βίου ἧκεν (lines 9–10); ποιεῖ εἰς ἑαυτὸν
ἐπίγραμμα (line 10). In περὶ Σοφιστῶν, on the other hand, we have a
dynamic, variegated *ordo verborum* (and only the first period of the
περὶ Σοφιστῶν, 1–2 ἐπειδή . . . νομίζων, will obviate this fundamental
difference). Notice further the awkward ὁρῶντε̣[ς] for ἰδόντες (line 1),
the poverty of vocabulary in τὸ λεχθέν . . . λέγοιεν (lines 3–4). The
optative κατα[λ]ίποιεν (line 7) can hardly belong to Alcidamas, who
would have written καταλιπεῖν. The optative may be explained either as
a product of a careless writer who forgot that he had used ἔφασαν and
so used the optative presuming that he had earlier used εἶπον ὅτι; or it
may be explained as an element in a late passage which would allow
φημί to be construed not only with the infinitive (ἀγρ]εῦσαι . . . φ[θ]ειρ-
[ί]ζεσ[θ]αι, lines 5–6) but also in the (ὅτι) sequence of λέγω. Of course
κατα[λ]ίποιεν may possibly be a corruption for καταλιπεῖν. However,
the hard fact is that the papyrus gives κατα[λ]ίποιεν. The two occur-
rences of οὓς (lines 6–7) are the parts of the partitive genitive τῶν
φθειρῶν (line 6), and they are opposed to each other by means of the
opposites ἔλαβον–οὐκ ἔλαβον (lines 6–7). No student of Greek who has
developed some feeling for the niceties of the Greek language would
fail to observe in lines 5–7 that a sophisticated Greek author such as
Alcidamas would have written οὓς μὲν ἔλαβον rather than οὓς ἔλαβον,
and possibly, in order to make the balance between the two μέν–δέ
pairs in lines 5–7 more conspicuous, φθειρίζεσθαι καὶ τῶν φθειρῶν
instead of φθειρίζεσθαι τῶν δὲ φθειρῶν; compare in particular περὶ
Σοφιστῶν 7, 14, 15, 18–19.

Winter's restoration ἔ[ν]θ᾽ ἀποφέρειν (line 8) is unsatisfactory. ἔνθ(α)
"where," with ἐν τοῖς τρίβωσιν immediately preceding, hardly con-
tributes anything to the meaning of the clause, nor do I know of any
idiom in Greek where ἐν + dative is taken up by a superfluous ἔνθα.
On the other hand, if we take ἔνθα to stand for ἔνθεν, indicating

motion from, we again meet difficulties since it is doubtful that ἔνθα in place of ἔνθεν existed for any period of Greek. As far as I can see, meaning and paleography strongly suggest ἐναποφέρειν (so Körte, Page, Kirk).

But ἐναποφέρειν, if accepted, is probably another piece of evidence for the later composition of lines 1–14. For so far as our knowledge goes, ἐναποφέρω is not found in any century B.C. I must add that words beginning with ἐναπ(ο)-, that is, ἐν + ἀπ(ο), are in great vogue in later Greek (see LSJ s.v. ἐναπάρχομαι through ἐναποψύχω) and are found even in cases where ἐν- is meaningless (see Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, etc. s.vv. ἐναπαστράπτω = ἀπαστράπτω, ἐναπασχολέω = ἀπασχολέω κτλ.). Now, if an author of disputed date had written οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τρίβωσι μαχαίρας ἀπέφερον and later upon mentioning the same people had in a shorthand identification referred to them as οἱ ἐναποφέροντες, one could argue that here the verb need not be viewed as real evidence for late composition. ἐναποφέροντες, he could argue, was used under an "idiosyncratic" circumstance in which the preverb ἐν- was desirable for neatly achieving the above-mentioned identification. Consequently the participle ought not to be considered as evidence for late composition even if such ἐναποφέροντες were to be a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. However, in the Michigan papyrus the writer does not need to use ἐναποφέρειν. Since ἐν before τοῖς τρίβωσιν has already expressed the meaning "in," what remains to be expressed is "to carry back [or away]" and for this one needs only ἀποφέρειν. Thus the context in the Michigan papyrus does not allow ἐναποφέρειν to pass as a product of the fifth or fourth century B.C. on the grounds of an "idiosyncratic" condition, for it is obvious that the author could have simply used ἀποφέρειν [in περὶ Σοφιστῶν 17 we find ἀποφέρονται]. It is far more probable that the author who wrote ἐν τοῖς τρίβωσιν and then continued with ἐναποφέρειν is late than that he is early, writing c. 383 B.C. or earlier. Words beginning with ἐναπο- are rarely used in the fifth and fourth centuries (in the Alcidamas we possess there is not one such word); ἐναποφέρω itself is nowhere found for that period, although there are numerous occasions in the texts which we possess from the fifth and fourth centuries where this verb could have been used; neither emphasis nor distinction is needed to suppose that the author here felt it necessary to repeat ἐν. But, if we assume that the author is late, then ἐναποφέρειν is easily explained on the ground that he shared the general interest of his time in words which begin with ἐναπο- regardless of whether we wish to take ἐν- as wholly meaningless

or as semi-otiose or as meaningful. After all, let us not forget that it is only in the late periods that we find the middle ἐναποφέρεσθαι (Libanius *Declamatio* 43.56) and the active ἐναποφέρουσιν (*Anon. De inventione capitis Sancti Ioannis, Acta Sanctorum Iunii V* p. 630E).

Suppose, however, that ἐν τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἐναποφέρειν could pass without scruples as written in the early fourth century B.C. If we are to judge from περὶ Σοφιστῶν (and from what is generally considered Alcidamean) it becomes evident that the preposition of a compound verb is not repeated in Alcidamas; for example, ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι γίγνεσθαι (18) or τοῖς λόγοις ἔνεστι (19), but not ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι ἐγγίγνεσθαι or ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἔνεστι. Even, then, if one tentatively assumes that ἐναποφέρειν belongs to Alcidamas' vocabulary, one still lacks arguments to support the use of ἐν before τρίβωσιν as Alcidamean. On the basis of the extant evidence, Alcidamas would have most probably written ἐν τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἀποφέρειν (or even τοῖς τρίβωσιν ἐναποφέρειν).

Aristotle makes a number of remarks concerning the style of Alcidamas (*Rhet.* 3.3, 1406a). He censures Alcidamas' employment of *composita* such as πυρίχρως, τελεσφόρος, κυανόχρως. Nothing of this sort is found in lines 1–14. He also censures Alcidamas' usage of strange words such as ἄθυρμα, ἀτασθαλία, θήγω. I consider it improbable that Aristotle's comment was meant to apply to such words as ἀγρεῦσαι, καταστροφή, ὀλισθάνει (lines 5, 9, 13), since they are attested in the prose authors of the fifth century (cf. e.g. Hdt. 2.95; Xen. *An.* 5.3.8; Hdt. 1.6, 92; id. 6.27; id. 4.167; Th. 1.15; id. 2.42; Antiph. 191.19; Pl. *Cra.* 427b). This same Aristotle blames Alcidamas for over-indulging in the use of "epithets" (Aristotle uses ἐπίθετον in a broader sense than we use "adjective"; he includes, for example, adnominal genitives in the term): οὐ γὰρ ἡδύσματι χρῆται, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐδέσματι τοῖς ἐπιθέτοις, οὕτω πυκνοῖς καὶ μείζοσι καὶ ἐπιδήλοις, "he [Alcidamas] does not use the 'epithets' as sauce for the meat, but as the meat itself, so crowded and prolix and obtrusive his 'epithets' are." Aristotle gives such examples as τὸν ὑγρὸν ἱδρῶτα, "the *moist* sweat," instead of ἱδρῶτα; εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἰσθμίων πανήγυριν, "to the *general assembly* of the Isthmian games," instead of εἰς Ἴσθμια; τοὺς τῶν πόλεων βασιλεῖς νόμους, "laws *the rulers of states*," instead of νόμους; δρομαίᾳ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁρμῇ, "with *a rushing impulse from within*," instead of δρόμῳ; τὸ τῆς φύσεως ... μουσεῖον, "*nature's* haunt of the Muses," instead of μουσεῖον; σκυθρωπὸν τὴν φροντίδα τῆς ψυχῆς, "the thought of his soul *sullen-visaged*"; πανδήμου χάριτος δημιουργός, "the demiurge of *universal* gratification," instead of δημιουργὸς χάριτος; οἰκονόμος τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων ἡδονῆς, "the steward of pleasure *to his audience*";

τοῖς τῆς ὕλης κλάδοις, "with boughs *of the forest*," instead of κλάδοις;
παρήμπισχε ... τὴν τοῦ σώματος αἰσχύνην, "veiled *his body's nakedness*,"
instead of παρήμπισχε ... τὸ σῶμα; ἀντίτιμον τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμίαν
"counter-mimic is the heart's desire" (Aristotle remarks that the word
ἀντίτιμον is at once a compound and an epithet, so that here we get
poetry); οὕτως ἔξεδρον τὴν τῆς μοχθηρίας ὑπερβολήν, "*so outflying* is
the excess of his villainy." There is not a shred of evidence of such a use
of "epithets" in lines 1–14. Aristotle further blames Alcidamas for
farfetched metaphors, as when the latter calls philosophy ἐπιτείχισμα
τῶν νόμων, "a bulwark of the laws," or the *Odyssey* καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου
βίου κάτοπτρον "a mirror fair of human life," or when he writes οὐδὲν
τοιοῦτο ἄθυρμα τῇ ποιήσει προσφέρων, "offering no such bauble to
poetry." Nothing of the sort is found in lines 1–14.

Even if we did not possess the περὶ Σοφιστῶν or wish to doubt that it
is Alcidamean, Aristotle's testimony alone constitutes devastating
evidence against the view that lines 1–14 belong to Alcidamas.

Those who would wish to take the view that lines 1–14 were written
before 383 B.C. by a person other than Alcidamas and that it was
Alcidamas himself who incorporated them into his own text must
satisfactorily answer two questions: (1) Why is it linguistically more
probable that lines 1–14 were written earlier than 383 B.C. (taking
383 B.C. as the approximate year in which Alcidamas wrote lines 15ff;
see pages 111–112) and not later than, say, 300 B.C. or 200 B.C. or
100 B.C. or A.D. 100? (2) Assuming for reasons of argument that lines
1–14 were written earlier than Alcidamas, why would Alcidamas in-
corporate them verbatim into the prose section of his text instead of
taking their meaning and phrasing it in his own words and style? The
Certamen (which, according to West, derives from Alcidamas) in its
prose sections does not in general present quotations, but only views
taken from other authors. Is it not, then, improbable to assume that
lines 1–14 are an exception and constitute a quotation, especially since
φασίν in line 14 indicates that the content of lines 1–14 is more or less
treated as common property (which would not have been the case if
instead of φασίν we had, for example, φησὶν Δημόκριτος)? Or are we to
assume that Alcidamas in lines 1–14 and elsewhere does not cite ver-
batim, and yet that he does not depart to any considerable degree from
the text of his sources? Is, however, such an assumption probable?
Such a procedure would be a priori the attitude of an impersonal
compiler rather than that of a person with the highly personal prose
style which characterized Alcidamas. Why is Alcidamas to become an
impersonal compiler in a composition which renders his *personal* thanks

to Homer? Need I point out that on the basis of probability the "compiler" is obviously not Alcidamas, but either the gentleman whom *all* call the "compiler" of the *Certamen* and place in the second century A.D., or possibly another colleague of his who wrote before him but hardly before the Alexandrian age?

Vogt (pages 199, 201, al.) offers two arguments in support of the view that the *Certamen* (and with it lines 1–14 of the Michigan papyrus) derives from Alcidamas: (1) Homer is presented favorably as a master of improvisation which manifests Alcidamas' preference for extemporization as seen in his περὶ Σοφιστῶν. I disagree (and so does West, page 443). True, Alcidamas in περὶ Σοφιστῶν speaks of the superiority of "improvisation" over "written compositions." But in the *Certamen* Homer is defeated and there is no statement in the text that the judgment of Πανήδης was unjust. Improvisation did not save Homer from defeat, and Hesiod wins not because he is a better improviser than Homer (in fact, he is hardly presented as an improviser), but because he stands for a *better cause* than Homer; he stands for *peace* while Homer stands for *war*. Thus in essence the *Certamen* argues either against Alcidamean views or, more probably, in a manner which is irrelevant to Alcidamean views. (2) Vogt sees in ἐσχεδίασαν (line 1 of the Michigan papyrus) an echo of the improviser Alcidamas. I have already argued that on the basis of extant evidence the very word ἐσχεδίασαν does not favor Alcidamean authorship — Alcidamas would have written ηὐτοσχεδίασαν (or αὐτοσχεδιάζοντες [αὐτοσχεδιάσαντες] εἶπον, or αὐτοσχεδιαστικῶς [or αὐτοσχεδιαστῶς] εἶπον, or ἐν αὐτοσχεδιασμῷ εἶπον κτλ.). But for the sake of argumentation let us assume that Alcidamas could use σχεδιάζω. Improvisation (and with it the words αὐτοσχεδιάζω, σχεδιάζω κτλ.) is κατὰ κόρον used throughout the Second Sophistic (one needs to read no more than the Βίοι Σοφιστῶν by Philostratus to form a correct estimate of my statement). Any of the many hundreds of teachers and thousands of students who belonged to the Second Sophistic when improvisation was widely practiced and admired could have written ἐσχεδίασαν τὸν στίχον τόνδε instead of ἐποίησαν τὸν στίχον τόνδε. There is nothing idiosyncratic in the meaning of ἐσχεδίασαν (let alone the form of the word) to argue for Alcidamean authorship.

To sum up: Although, as I have already stated, West succeeds in weakening Kirk's arguments, I believe that, all things considered, we should conclude (unless we wish to indulge in idle scepticism) that: (1) lines 1–14 beyond doubt do not come from the hand of Alcidamas; (2) lines 1–14 were most probably written after 383 B.C., more probably after 350 B.C. than between 383 and 350, quite possibly in Alexandrian

times; (3) lines 1–14 most probably are not quoted by Alcidamas. Even if we assume that they existed in the fifth century (which in itself is highly improbable) it is a priori improbable that Alcidamas would have incorporated them into his own composition in the wretched linguistic format in which they appear on the Michigan papyrus.

Leaving lines 1–14, which correspond closely to the end of the *Certamen* and present no difficulties in their sequence of thought, let us pass to an examination of lines 15–23.

There are some sequences of words which, if combined without bias into a logical whole, seem to me to give the general meaning of the passage: (a) τὴν ἀρετήν, line 15 (b) τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θαυμαζομένους, lines 16–17 (c) τῆς παιδιας (?), line 19.

I shall begin with (c). τῆς παιδιας may be either τῆς παιδιᾶς or, as Körte suggested, τῆς παιδείας. Beyond reasonable doubt the latter is the correct reading; West agrees. Alcidamas can hardly give τῆς παιδιᾶς as a reason for honoring Homer, since, no matter what this παιδιᾶς was to mean exactly, it could not be anything important, but rather a "trifle," at best a *jeu d'esprit*. If we read with Körte παιδείας (ει and ῑ are interchangeable from approximately 300 B.C. on), we have a significant reason for Alcidamas' honoring of Homer, and one revealing Greek sentiment; compare, for example, Plato *Republic* 10.606, τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπαίδευκεν οὗτος ὁ ποιητής (= ὁ Ὅμηρος).

Accepting τῆς παιδείας, we would naturally suspect its connection with (a), τὴν ἀρετήν, and assume the general meaning of παιδεία to be Ὅμηρος ἐπαίδευσε τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἰς ἀρετήν. If we show that παιδεία must have also occurred before line 19, the connection of παιδείας with ἀρετῆς becomes attractive.

Wholly unconvincing is West's supplement (page 437) ταύτη[ν] in line 19 (proposed by Winter and also followed by Kirk and Dodds). A demonstrative pronoun, as a rule, is followed by the article of the noun to which it belongs, and this, so far as we know, is *always* the case with Alcidamas (cf. περὶ Σοφιστῶν 1, διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν; 6 (end), ἐκ τῶνδε τῶν παραδειγμάτων; 10, ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν; 30, τούτους εἴρηκα τοὺς λόγους; τοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει; 31, ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ τρόπου). Obviously we must write ταύτη[ς] as Körte does and refer it to τῆς παιδείας. With ταύτη[ς] it becomes clear that a discussion of Homer's παιδείας has already occurred.

From where does this Homeric παιδεία derive? We cannot be sure, but probably it is meant to derive from the Homeric poetry; and, if παιδεία is to be understood as "education in virtue," very likely it is meant to derive from the εὐβουλία of Nestor, the καρτερία of Odysseus,

the ἀνδρεία of Ajax, the θάρσος of Diomedes, the σωφροσύνη of Pene-
lope, and so forth (opposed to instructive examples of κακία with
reference to Thersites, Paris, the suitors, and others), as seen in the
Iliad and the *Odyssey* and endlessly utilized by the moralizing writers.
Alcidamas in one of his ἀπαράσημα (Arist. *Rhet.* 3.3, 1405b34ff) calls the
Odyssey καλὸν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου κάτοπτρον. He might also have called
either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* or both καλὸν ἀρετῆς ⟨καὶ κακίας⟩
κάτοπτρον. Reading or hearing the *Iliad* and/or the *Odyssey* we receive
instruction in all aspects of ἀρετή.

Whatever the exact meaning of παιδείας, it most probably means a
type of παιδεία which interested *all* Greeks at *all* times (not, for ex-
ample, a παιδεία confined to the interests of only a στρατηγός or a
ῥήτωρ). The understanding of παιδείας in such a broad sense receives
support from the statement that Homer καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀποθανὼν τετίμηται
παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις (lines 17–19). Since this honor bestowed on
Homer by all men at all times probably cannot be irrelevant to the
παιδεία these men received from Homer, it is most likely that this
παιδεία was of a type which interested and benefited all Greeks, so as to
entail honor for Homer on the part of all Greeks including Alcidamas.

Sequence (b), τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θαυμαζομένους can only doubtfully
refer to Homer as a historian (or perhaps "scientist," but see my
comment on τοὺς ἱστορικούς above). Kirk has rightly observed (page
154) that, if Homer had been assessed by Alcidamas as a historian, as a
quite untypical assessment of Homer this ought to have been elaborated
and explained by Alcidamas. But no such explanation occurs in the
Michigan papyrus. Nor, we may add, should we expect it. Notice again
the words καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀποθανὼν τετίμηται παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις
(lines 17–19). We cannot overrule the possibility that *some* persons
honored Homer especially as a historian, but certainly these were not
all Greeks at *all* times. This honor, then, attributed to Homer is not
likely to be limited to or particularly focused on his role as a historian.
If so, the following τῆς παιδείας (line 19) is not likely to be defined
narrowly as "historical education." The probable conclusion, then, is
that the judgment of *all* Greeks at *all* times about Homer and the
ensuing honor bestowed on him by them, has little to do with the senti-
ments that Greeks (not *all* Greeks and not at *all* times) had about
historians; if so, τοὺς ἱστορικούς does not specify Homer as a historian.
But what, then, are we to make of ὁρῶν (or ὁρῶν⟨τες⟩) τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς
θαυμαζομένους?

The obvious solution is that Alcidamas in this work acted as a
historian. Since historians were admired among his contemporaries

(ὁρῶν τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θαυμαζομένους), the author all the more happily embarked on a historical project, not only to render his personal thanks to Homer as a beneficiary of Homeric παιδεία but also expecting to gain fame since his labors were invested in a literary area which had popular appeal.

It is not unreasonable to assume that this piece of work belongs to the young Alcidamas (writing c. 410 B.C.?) who, for a time, might have courted history. The ambitious, younger Alcidamas, still without fame, is more likely to count on winning the θαυμασμός of his contemporaries by taking up a historical subject than the already famous older rhetorician Alcidamas. Be he young or not, it is very probable that Alcidamas here acts as a historian. If so, the supplement γ]ένος suggested by Page seems to me, as it seems to Dodds, an attractive possibility. As Dodds points out (pages 187–188), γ]ένος may well refer to the vexed question of Homer's birthplace. A systematic investigation of the matter (encompassing also the parentage of Homer?) including a discussion of the genuineness and/or merits of the works ascribed to Homer constitutes an interesting piece of historical activity, which may well make its author famous.

We may here attempt to refute West's supplement (page 438) for lines 19–20: ἀποδιδο[ύς, ἀφέμ]ενος αὐτοῦ. He translates lines 19–23: "So offering (= ἀποδιδούς) him this return for his teaching, I will leave (= ἀφέμενος) him and go on to make the other poets available too, in a conveniently brief form of remembrance, to those of the Greeks who desire to love beauty."

The sequence ἀποδιδούς, ἀφέμενος seems to me intolerable. Both participles depend on παραδώ[σω. If so, the present participle ἀποδιδούς must be in time posterior to the aorist. But in what sense can Alcidamas *be offering* anything to *Homer having left* Homer? The only possibility I can see is to assume that, although Alcidamas will have left Homer in the sense of ceasing to speak about him, he will continue honoring Homer in the treatment of the other poets, because this treatment has been undertaken *Homeri gratia*. But if this is the intended meaning, the wording is too cryptic and the meaning borders on the absurd. One is likely to honor Homer by an activity connected directly with Homer (for example, writing a biography of Homer, making an evaluation of Homer's literary accomplishments, undertaking an edition of his works, and so on), not by writing about other poets.

It is further improbable that Alcidamas wrote an enormous prologue comprising (in the estimate of West himself, page 435) the contest between Homer and Hesiod, the death of Hesiod, and the death of

Homer, and only then announced both his intention to honor Homer
and the content of the work which he edits τοῖς βουλομένοις φιλοκαλεῖν.
Is not such an announcement suspiciously postponed? Furthermore, in
what sense might Homer's death, Hesiod's death, and the contest
between the two lead up to Alcidamas' intention to honor Homer for
παιδεία?

West's assumption (page 438) that Alcidamas wrote a sequence
dealing with poets is arbitrary. We know that Alcidamas spoke about
the punishment of Hesiod's murderers (*Cert.* lines 238–240), but this
does not mean that he ever wrote a biography and/or monograph on the
poetry of Hesiod. The punishment of the murderers might have been
mentioned in any context in which Alcidamas gave an example of the
interest of the gods in distinguished men, such as poets, lawgivers, and
so forth; he had in fact mentioned the interest which cities took in
distinguished men: (Arist. *Rh.* 2.23, 1398b9) Πάριοι γοῦν Ἀρχίλοχον
καίπερ βλάσφημον ὄντα τετιμήκασι, καὶ Χῖοι Ὅμηρον οὐκ ὄντα πολίτην,
καὶ Μυτιληναῖοι Σαπφὼ καίπερ γυναῖκα οὖσαν, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
Χίλωνα, καὶ τῶν γερόντων ἐποίησαν ἥκιστα φιλόλογοι ὄντες, καὶ
Ἰταλιῶται Πυθαγόραν, καὶ Λαμψακηνοὶ Ἀναξαγόραν ξένον ὄντα ἔθαψαν
καὶ τιμῶσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν κτλ.

Even if we assume that Alcidamas wrote about various poets, we do
not have any reason to believe that these biographies (or whatever they
were) formed a *unit* with a prologue comprising τὰ καθ' Ὅμηρον καὶ
Ἡσίοδον and leading to the rest.

Finally, to return to line 20 of the papyrus, the asyndetic sequence
ἀποδιδο[ύς, ἀφέμ]ενος suggested by West is too jerky to be accepted
without scruple as Alcidamean. We may, then, restore lines 20–21 as
χάριν ἀποδιδο[ύς, τό (τε?) γ]ένος.

Why ἄλλην? Two possibilities suggest themselves: (a) The author
considered his treatment of the γένος Ὁμήρου as the main purpose of
his discussion, so that he subjugated in importance the treatment of
Ὁμήρου ποίησις to that of Ὁμήρου γένος. With this understanding
ἄλλην should be translated "besides" (see LSJ s.v. ἄλλος II 6).
(b) The assumption of a lacuna in line 15 or both before and in line
15 of the Michigan papyrus fragment is most probable. Line 15 is
unintelligible, and all proposed remedies seem to be violent. ἀρετὴν
ποιῶ or ποιοῦμαι, as West observed, is an unparalleled expression.
Furthermore, the sequence ποιήσομεν . . . ὁρῶν is impossible. In Greek
a participle functioning as a (timed) adjective when it refers to the
subject of the finite verb is expected to agree in number with the
subject. Thus we must write ποιήσομεν . . . ὁρῶν⟨τες⟩, or, keeping
ὁρῶν, we should change ποιήσομεν to the singular.

It is at least equally possible to assume with West that both ποιήσομεν and ὁρῶν are correct and that the difficulty occurs from a lacuna of undetermined length between these two words, a lacuna which must have once contained, among other words, one finite verb in the singular to the subject of which ὁρῶν refers. Alcidamas in περὶ Σοφιστῶν speaks in the first person, shifting from singular to plural, so that he might well have shifted after ποιήσομεν to a verb in the first person singular, for example (31), τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πολλάκις ἡμῖν ἐντυγχάνουσιν . . . παρακελεύομαι πεῖραν ἡμῶν λαμβάνειν, ὅταν . . . μουσικῶς εἰπεῖν οἷοί τ' ὦμεν· τοῖς δὲ διὰ χρόνου μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς ἀκροάσεις ἀφιγμένοις, . . . ἐπιχειροῦμέν τι δεικνύναι τῶν γεγραμμένων . . . What seems strongly to indicate a lacuna is διὰ τοῦτο in line 17, ταύτη[ς] . . . τῆς παιδείας in line 19, τὴν ἀρετήν in line 15 (and perhaps περὶ τούτου in the same line), all of which remain very obscure without a previous discussion establishing their content.

Accepting (with West) Dodds's view (page 188) that lines 15ff are an excerpt from a prologue by Alcidamas, we may assume (a) a considerable lacuna, the text of which achieved a transition to the above-mentioned words or (b) a lacuna of a few words, which need not clarify the content of the following διὰ τοῦτο (line 17), ταύτη[ς] . . . τῆς παιδείας (line 19), and the rest.

In case (b) we may suppose that διὰ τοῦτο (line 17), ταύτη[ς] . . . τῆς παιδείας (line 19), and the rest had been clear in the source from which they were excerpted, in which source the excerpted text followed upon a (lengthy?) discussion of Homer's ἀρετή–παιδεία. If the excerpt, as such, is abrupt and obscure in details, the obscurity stems from the fact that it is out of context.

Whether one chooses a large or small lacuna, we suggest as a second possibility that ἄλλη[ν] in line 20 refers to the remaining poetry of Homer and that Alcidamas has already discussed, for example, either the *Odyssey* or the *Iliad* or both (whether in the lost section of the fragment or in the preceding context from which the excerpt was taken) in order to establish Homer's ἀρετή–παιδεία.

We have already established with reasonable certainty that lines 1–14 and 15–23 do not belong to the same author. Körte's assumption, that lines 1–14 may be an excerpt from an earlier work used by Alcidamas himself must now be abandoned, because, as we have seen, these lines very probably (a) were written after Alcidamas; (b) even if written before Alcidamas they could not have been used by him. Kirk's assumption that lines 1–14 are a later interpolation in Alcidamas has been rightly rejected by Dodds and West. Such massive interpolation is highly unlikely in a text protected by the author's name.

Dodds, as we have seen, takes the view that lines 1–23 of the papyrus mark the end of a book consisting of excerpts taken from various sources. I am inclined to agree with West that this view seems unlikely. Since lines 1–14 correspond so closely with the end of the *Certamen*, and since there is no internal or external evidence that these lines are an excerpt, it is to my mind far more probable to assume that the papyrus roll to which the Michigan papyrus fragment belongs contained the whole of the *Certamen* approximately coinciding in content and form with the *Certamen* we possess.

The Michigan papyrus belongs to the second or early third century A.D. and we have no evidence suggesting that the *Certamen* received any substantially new material after the second century A.D. It is thus more probable, modifying Dodds's view (see p. 109 note 8) to suppose that a series of quotations begins *after* line 14 of the Michigan papyrus. If so, lines 15–23 represent a fragment from Alcidamas with which this series *begins*. The fame of Alcidamas and the fact that the fragment comes from a prologue of a work by Alcidamas (as Dodds has shown and West agrees) secured the *first* place for it in this sequence. Possibly this first place may also be due to an arrangement of the fragments alphabetically on the basis of the names of their authors (a fragment by Alcidamas thus coming first).

Dodds, assuming the papyrus to be a book of fragments ending with a fragment by Alcidamas, took the words περὶ Ὁμήρου (under the name [Ἀλκι]δάμαντος) as a *subscriptio* of the whole book. In support of his view Dodds observed (page 188) that we know of no work by Alcidamas bearing the title περὶ Ὁμήρου. With my interpretation περὶ Ὁμήρου cannot be traced back to a *subscriptio* of such a book but to a *subscriptio* of the Alcidamas fragment — whether we take περὶ Ὁμήρου to be the title of a work by Alcidamas, unknown elsewhere to us, to which the fragment belongs, or simply to indicate that the content of the fragment is "about Homer" (quasi *subscriptio*).

There is no reason to assume that such a sequence of fragments dealt exclusively with Homer. If the compiler of these fragments collected them in relation to the *Certamen*, he might possibly have included in the collection fragments περὶ Ἡσιόδου as well, and even fragments περὶ Πανήδου or περὶ Κρεωφύλου κτλ. Consequently περὶ Ὁμήρου might originally have been meant to inform the reader that the fragment dealt with Homer (as other fragments of the collection dealt with Hesiod and others and so were marked περὶ Ἡσιόδου κτλ.).

At any rate, the assumption that such a collection of fragments had been done not independently, but with a view of supplementing the

content of the *Certamen* by expanding and/or further clarifying its subject matter, receives support from the very fragment of Alcidamas. A book of fragments dealing with Homer can only doubtfully contain a fragment by Alcidamas, since Alcidamas, so far as we know, was left out in Alexandrian Homeric scholarship (his name is never mentioned in the *Bίοι* of Homer). But if we assume that this collection was done in connection with the *Certamen*, the appearance of Alcidamas' fragment περὶ Ὁμήρου is anything but surprising, since Alcidamas and the Μουσεῖον are mentioned in the *Certamen* (line 240) and so it is easy to assume that the compiler of the fragments, on the basis of this information, checked in the Μουσεῖον (or some other work) by Alcidamas to find some remarks of the great rhetorician on the subject (about Homer or Hesiod, and so forth).

How did it happen that the fragment by Alcidamas united with the text of the *Certamen*, and why were the other fragments dropped? Obviously we are perforce in the realm of speculation. The *Certamen* has come to us anonymously and we have no reason to believe that it was ever attributed to an author. I have argued that the wording of line 15 in the Michigan papyrus suggests a lacuna. If this lacuna had been produced by physical damage, the damaged portion might have included the παράγραφος or the κορωνίς or whatever else would have shown that what followed after line 14 in the Michigan papyrus was not a continuation of the *Certamen*, but a new sequence. Thus, subsequent copying might have resulted in a uniting of the end of the *Certamen* with the damaged fragment by Alcidamas. The fact that the *Certamen* was anonymous and that after the lacuna, following the end of the *Certamen*, there were some sentences attributed to Alcidamas, could easily mislead one into taking the whole *Certamen*, plus the remains of Alcidamas' fragment, as a work (or a large excerpt from a work) by Alcidamas. Because of the rich content of this sequence and the name of Alcidamas, the section may have been considered worthy of independent publication and for that reason became detached from the following fragments περὶ Ἡσιόδου κτλ.

If the title of the *Certamen* was originally written at the end of the *Certamen* (and so before the fragment by Alcidamas) we have to assume that this title had been effaced or damaged beyond recognition in order to allow the union of the *Certamen* with the fragment by Alcidamas. If by chance the title of the *Certamen* had appeared (also) at the beginning of the *Certamen* or in a σίλλυβος and was similar to the title of the *Certamen* in the codex Laurentianus 56.1, that is, περὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἀγῶνος αὐτῶν, then we could suppose

that περὶ Ὁμήρου, written after the Alcidamas fragment, was taken as an abbreviated (or even unfinished) *subscriptio* of the full title περὶ Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου κτλ. and this allowed or even contributed to the union of the *Certamen* with the fragment by Alcidamas. Of course it is possible that the *Certamen* had no title at all (the title of the codex Laurentianus 56.1 may be a Byzantine *additamentum*), in which case the union of the *Certamen* with the following excerpt by Alcidamas becomes very easy.

If one honestly faces the larger question of why many still believe that the *Certamen* streams in the main from Alcidamas' Μουσεῖον, the answer is: this was the opinion of Nietzsche.

The two main points on which Nietzsche's theory was grounded were: (a) the compiler of the *Certamen* gives Alcidamas and the Μουσεῖον as the authority for the story of the punishment which Zeus bestowed upon Hesiod's murderers (lines 238–240), and (b) two lines in dactylic hexameter which in the *Certamen* are delivered by Homer (lines 78–79) reappear in Stobaeus' *Florilegium* 120.3, where Stobaeus gives his source as the Μουσεῖον of Alcidamas.

The mention of Alcidamas' Μουσεῖον in the *Certamen* in connection with Hesiod's murderers does not prove that Alcidamas wrote a contest between Homer and Hesiod; in fact, it does not prove that Alcidamas even wrote a biography of Hesiod. It establishes only that the compiler used the Μουσεῖον by Alcidamas, as he has used directly or indirectly texts written by Eratosthenes (line 240), Hellanicus (line 19), Cleanthes (line 19), Eugaeon (line 20), Callicles (line 21), Democritus (line 21), and so on, where Alcidamas in a context unknown to us made this reference to Hesiod.

In connection with the two aforementioned dactylic lines found in the *Certamen* and quoted by Stobaeus, we should not forget that they are also found in Theognis in two consecutive elegiac couplets (425–428) πάντων μὲν μὴ φῦναι ἐπιχθονίοισι ἄριστον / μηδ᾽ ἐσιδεῖν αὐγὰς ὀξέος ἠελίου, / φύντα δ᾽ ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀίδαο περῆσαι / καὶ κεῖσθαι πολλὴν γῆν ἀπαμησάμενον. Since in the text of Theognis the two hexameters may be separated from their following pentameters and together make perfect sense, it is very likely that the two hexameters existed before Theognis and that Theognis added the two pentameters to make elegiac couplets. Also we must not forget that the two verses occur almost verbatim in Epicurus *Ad Menoeceum Epistula* 3.126 (ed. Usen. p. 61. 21ff), πολὺ δὲ χεῖρον καὶ ὁ λέγων καλὸν μὲν μὴ φῦναι, φύντα δ᾽ ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀίδαο περῆσαι, and their purport in Sophocles *Oedipus Coloneus* 1224ff, μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἄπαντα νικᾷ λόγον. τὸ δ᾽,

ἐπεὶ φανῇ, βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθεν περ ἥκει, πολὺ δεύτερον, ὡς τάχιστα. The first two verses of the Theognis version are also imitated by Bacchylides 5.160, θνατοῖσι μὴ φῦναι ἄριστον / μηδ' ἀελίου προσιδεῖν φέγγος ... In at least four other instances one may argue for imitation: Euripides fragments 285, 449, 908 Nauck, Plutarch *Consolatio ad Apollonium* 14 p. 109a (ed. Teubn. I [1925] p. 224.11ff). Consequently, these two verses may well have reached the *Certamen* from a source other than the Μουσεῖον of Alcidamas. Thus, the theory that Alcidamas' Μουσεῖον was the basic source for the *Certamen* is reduced to a mere possibility, the facts pointing only to one safe conclusion, namely that the compiler together with other sources used the Μουσεῖον (directly or indirectly) for his account of the punishment of Hesiod's murderers by Zeus, a fact which shows nothing about the general content of the specific work by Alcidamas from which such information was taken.

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5*

AN UNPUBLISHED PAPYRUS FRAGMENT OF NEW COMEDY

Marcia E. Weinstein

THIS scrap (see plate), 4.3 × 7.8 cm., Harvard University, Houghton Library Ms. Gr. 24 (1), is published here by permission of the Harvard College Library. It is one of five papyri, all still unpublished, sent by C. R. Watson to Professor J. R. Jewett in a letter, now catalogued with the papyri, on 4 August 1917. In that letter Watson states that these papyri "were picked up in the Faiyum district." The other four pieces, none much larger than this one, are documents: three in Greek and one in Arabic.

The hand closely resembles both in style and letter forms the hand of *PLond* 24 (recto) = plate 9 in Seider, *Paläographie der griechischen Papyri* I (Stuttgart 1967), dated to 163 B.C., and also that of *PMed* 1 = Pack² 447, dated with great certainty to the second century B.C. by the document on the same piece. It is, therefore, reasonable to place this scrap sometime in the second century B.C. The hand is also quite similar to that of the papyrus of the *Sicyonios* published by A. Blanchard and A. Bataille, *RecPap* 3 (1964), especially in the tendency of the lines to be written closer together in the lower part of a column. According to Blanchard and Bataille (p. 107) the *Sicyonios* papyrus is a palimpsest. In the Harvard papyrus there are traces of underwriting at lines 5, 6, 7, 9, and 11. It is possible in both pieces that the spacing between lines was not an unconscious habit of the scribe but an attempt to hide the underwriting. In the *Sicyonios* papyrus VI, B the lines are much closer together at the lower end, and the papyrus there appears significantly discolored in the photographs. At VIII, A the ends of lines 8 and 9 are very close together, and traces of underwriting can be seen.

This scrap is too small to allow even a guess at what kind of scene it is part of. Since we have only the ends of lines, it is not certain how many speakers there were. What words can be read indicate New Comedy, especially θρυλου[μεν-, φιλοτιμουμ[-, and αὐθαιρε[τ-. There are no traces of any punctuation. In line 2 it appears that *scriptio plena* was employed. The piece is interesting mainly for its early date. In the articulated version (column 2 below) I have given the metrical requirements for filling out the lines in the shortest space as iambic trimeters,

and in line 8, where it is possible, the necessary length of the preceding syllable.

<div style="columns:2">

```
      ]ε.[. .]λθη[
      ]τετο[.]τοοτ[
      ]ηςτυχ[.]ιν   [
      ]υτηςμονον   [
   5  ]ιφιλοτιμουμ[
      ]καιθρυλου[
      ]ειχαιρεινε.[
      ]ερονευρηκ[
      ]ςεληλυθεν   [
  10  ].υτουςλεγ[
      ]ηνςκηνη[
      ]αυθαιρε[
      ]——[
```

```
      ]ε.[. .]λθη[�‿˗
     -]τε το[ῦ]θ’ ὅτ[˗
     -]ης τυχ[ε]ῖν   [
     -]υτης μόνον   [
   5 -]ι φιλοτιμουμ[-�‿˗
      ]καὶ θρυλού[μεν-˗
     -]ει χαίρειν ἐᾷ[ν
   ˘-]ερον εὑρηκ[˘˗
     -]ςελήλυθεν   [
  10 τ]ούτους λέγ[-˗
      τ]ὴν ςκηνὴ[νυ˗
      ]αὐθαιρε[τ-˗
      ]——[
```

</div>

1　　]ε: possibly sigma, but it is often smaller, especially in ligature, cf. lines 3 and 4 against lines 11 and 12; theta and omicron likewise are too small and usually written high. After]ε, the bottoms of two uprights, slightly lower than the epsilon, both with left-opening hooks. Either the second is too low or the hook opens the wrong way for eta, cf. lines 3, 4, 8, and 11. The descenders of iota, rho, tau, and upsilon all have left-opening hooks at the bottom. Tau in line 10 seems most consistent with either trace. It is likely that these traces, if of two letters, are iota plus one of the other three.

2　　το[.]: there is an extremely small bit of ink on the fiber which extends into the hole. It is probably too far from the other traces to be part of omicron and too close for the upright of upsilon, but possibly it is a trace of the left arm of the same letter. After the hole there is a trace of a stroke on the upper left half of the omicron, very possibly the end of the cross-bar of a tau joined as in το before the hole.

5　　Under]ιφ a darkening and a vertical trace of an erasure or offset through the left side of phi.

6　　Between lines 6 and 7, below θρ, traces of erasures or offsets.

7　　At the beginning of the line an offset or erasure above iota? At the end of the line a low trace of an upright or an upward sloping oblique, consistent with α, γ, η, ι, λ, υ, or χ.

8　　A dot of ink above the first rho.

9　　]ς has what appears to be a trace of a cross-bar, but it is ink on a fiber, probably out of place. Between the lines, above ηλ, traces of offsets or erasures, ψα?

10　　Traces of a small round letter, written high, probably like the first omicron in line 2, but these traces could also be part of a thick upright. At the end, possible trace of a vertical on the right side of gamma.

Houghton Library Ms. Gr. 24 (1)

11 Under the first nu, definite traces of a long descender.

13 This line is spaced further from line 12 than lines 7–12 are from each other. The tendency has been for the space between lines to decrease as one reads down the column. Perhaps the scribe did not write lines 12 and 13 continuously, or, as was suggested above, he wrote the lines close together in order to cover up the traces of an erasure. These traces could be the line above the last letter or two of $\overline{XOPOY}$; however, in the *Sicyonios* papyrus, which this fragment resembles, χορου (see pl. x col. B) is written together in the middle of the line. On the other hand, in the *Dis Exapaton* papyrus,[1] four centuries later in date, it is written: $\overline{XO}$ $\overline{P}$ $\overline{OY}$. What appears in the Harvard papyrus to be one line, may be parts of two letters, cf. το in line 2 and τυ in line 3. Perhaps it was one extremely broad pi. The stroke is noticably thicker on the left side, which may indicate linking. It could also be the top of a downward sloping oblique, e.g. the left arm of a large upsilon.

The small size of this scrap makes attempts to supplement and even articulate it speculative. At the end of line 2 it is tempting to supplement ὅτ[ι, although ὅτ[αν is also possible. In favor of ὅτι is the fact that of 36 certain occurrences in papyrus fragments of the plays of Menander (as opposed to quotations) ὅτι is found 17 times in line-final position, but of 10 certain occurrences in the plays of Menander ὅταν is found in the final position only once (*Dysk.* 277). The traces of what precede suggest το[ῦ]το. The frequent combination of a verb of knowing with ὅτι suggests that]τε be supplemented ἴc]τε.

In line 4 α]ὐτῆc or τα]ύτης is possible. In line 5 φιλοτιμουμ[εν- or φιλοτιμούμ[εθα is most likely. καὶ θρυλού[μεν- in line 6 suggests that somewhere earlier in the line παλαιόν or παλαιά is to be supplemented in view of the following quotations, which indicate that the phrase was a cliché something like, "the same old song and dance."

> ἵνα μὴ τὸ παλαιὸν τοῦτο καὶ θρυλούμενον
> δι᾽ ἡμετέρων cτομάτων
> εἴπω cόφιcμ᾽, ὃ φαcι παῖδας Λεcβίων
> εὑρεῖν.
>
> Theopompos 35 Kock
>
> οὗτοι τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ θρυλούμενα
> ἀρτύματ᾽ ἐξήλειψαν ἐκ τῶν βυβλίων
>
> Anaxippos 1.4–5 Kock

[1] I wish to thank Professors E. G. Turner and E. W. Handley for permission to refer to this unpublished part of the papyrus, part of which has been published as Professor Handley's inaugural lecture, *Menander and Plautus: A Study in Comparison* (London 1968). The complete papyrus will be published as *BICS Supp.* 22.

Fragment 911 Koerte[2], a quotation from Photius, states that Menander used the word cκηνή to mean house or inn: cκηνή· ἡ οἰκία καὶ καταγωγή. ὡc ἀcιαγενῆ τὴν λέξιν. οὕτωc Μένανδροc. Except for this quotation the word is found nowhere else in Menander. The word αὐθαίρετοc appears twice at the end of the line in Menander. In one case, fragment 219 Koerte[2], the context, a preceding half-line, prevents any connection with line 12 of the Harvard papyrus. In the other, fragment 486 Koerte[2], it appears that the same condition obtains: the line ἄνοια θνητοῖc δυcτύχημ' αὐθαίρετον is followed by another with which the traces of the papyrus cannot be reconciled. According to the apparatus the two lines are separated in the source, Stobaeus, by a fragment of Sophocles. There is no proof that the lines were consecutive in the Menandrean original. In any event, the connection of the line with the Harvard fragment, although possible, is at best tenuous.

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MENANDER *EPITREPONTES* 44 AND 139

MARCIA E. WEINSTEIN

THE forthcoming publication of the fifth copy[1] of Menander's
Epitrepontes, *POxy* 38.2829, hereafter *O*, makes it worthwhile to
reopen discussion of two textual problems also found in the Cairo
Codex (Pack[2] 1301), hereafter *C*, which the largest fragments of *O*
duplicate for lines 42–80, 134–146, 171–185, as Koerte[3] numbers the
text.

I

The correct allocation of lines 42–47 to Daos and Syriskos (or more
properly Syros, cf. W. G. Arnott, *CR* n.s. 18 [1968] 227–229) has been
a problem since the first publication of *C* in 1907.[2] This is the result of
an apparent mistake in the punctuation of *C* which reads with articula-
tion:

$$\phi\epsilon\acute{v}\gamma\epsilon\iota c\ \tau\grave{o}\ \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota o\nu\colon c\nu\kappa o\phi\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\hat{\iota}c\ \delta\nu c\tau\nu\chi\acute{\eta}c\colon$$
—

$$o\grave{v}\ \delta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\ c'\ \check{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ c'\colon\ \dot{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\rho\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{\epsilon}o\nu\ \tau\iota\nu\acute{\iota}$$
—

$$\check{\epsilon}c\tau\iota\ \pi\epsilon\rho\grave{\iota}\ \tau o\acute{v}\tau\omega\nu\colon \beta o\acute{v}\lambda o\mu\alpha\iota\cdot\ \kappa\rho\iota\nu\acute{\omega}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\colon$$
—

45    $$\tau\acute{\iota}c\ o\mathring{v}\nu\colon \dot{\epsilon}\mu o\grave{\iota}\ \mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu\ \pi\hat{\alpha}c\ \acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\nu\grave{o}c\ \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\alpha\iota\alpha\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}$$
$$\pi\acute{\alpha}c\chi\omega\cdot\ \tau\acute{\iota}\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho\ co\iota\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\delta o\nu\nu\colon \tau o\hat{\nu}\tau o\nu\ \lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$$
—

$$\beta o\acute{v}\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\rho\iota\tau\acute{\eta}\nu\colon \dot{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\hat{\eta}\ \tau\acute{v}\chi\eta\colon$$
—

The new papyrus differs from this only in not having the high stop after
βούλομαι in line 44, which, unfortunately, obscures the solution to this

---

problem. A careful analysis of the dramatic necessities of the scene will
bring us to the correct solution, proposed originally by Croiset in
1907 and adopted by Allinson and Capps,[3] but not mentioned by
Koerte[3] (who also does not note the high stop in *C*). In line 42 the
speaker of the second half of the line must be the person who has
something to lose from being informed on. Daos, who has the γνωρίς-
ματα found with the child, is in that position; "Syriskos" is the person
with a grievance. This makes the first half of the line appropriate to him.
It is certain that the speaker of lines 45–46 (ἐμοὶ . . . μετεδίδουν) is the
one who originally had the option to share, i.e. Daos. However, lines
43–44 present problems: as *C* is marked, it is impossible for the alter-
nation ("Syriskos" beginning at 43 etc.) to result in Daos' speaking
45–46.

Koerte, adopting the solution of van Leeuwen,[4] gave Daos both the
last half of 42 and the first half of 43. Wilamowitz rightly insisted that
the first half of 43 must be said by "Syriskos."[5] The matter under
dispute is the possession of the γνωρίςματα; the person who has them
at that time is Daos. It is to him the sentence applies, not to "Syriskos"
who is trying to get them. Thus a change of speaker must be added or
deleted between the middle of 44 and just after the beginning of 45.
On paleographical grounds the most economical solution is to give
βούλομαι to "Syriskos" and κρινώμεθα to Daos. This would assume that
a dicolon had been lost, partially in *C* and entirely in *O*. The situation
in *C* is easily explained: either the lower dot was lost through damage in
the source from which *C* was copied or dictated, or a scribal error was
made either in *C* or its source. The situation in *O* also admits a relatively
easy explanation. E. W. Handley points out that a dicolon is transcribed
in the Bodmer *Dyskolos* as iota.[6] If this happened in the source of *O*, it
could have been omitted in *O* by haplography or corrected out of the
source as nonsense.

One must then ask if this solution yields Greek: in particular, can
βούλομαι be used in rapid dialogue to signal assent? The closest
parallel I can find is Plato *Cratylus* 414e:

ΕΡΜ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις. CΩ. Ἀληθῆ μέντοι· ἀλλὰ τὸ μέτριον οἶμαι, δεῖ

[3] M. Croiset, *Ménandre: L'arbitrage* (Paris 1908). F. G. Allinson, *Menander:
The Principal Fragments* (London 1921). E. Capps, *The Hero, Epitrepontes* etc.
(Boston [1901]).
[4] J. van Leeuwen, *Menandri quattuor fabularum fragmenta*[3] (Leyden 1919).
[5] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Menander: Das Scheidsgericht (Epitre-
pontes)* (Berlin 1925).
[6] E. W. Handley, *The Dyskolos of Menander* (London 1965) 46.

φυλάττειν καὶ τὸ εἰκὸς cὲ τὸν coφὸν ἐπιcτάτην. ΕΡΜ. βουλοίμην ἄν.
CΩ. Καὶ ἐγώ coι cυμβούλομαι, ὦ Ἑρμόγενεc.

On the basis of this passage and with the fact in mind that the colloquial
language of Menander is an area in which one example of a usage is
called an exception to normal Greek, but that two examples make the
usage idiomatic, one can accept this division of the lines.

II

In line 139 O confirms τοῦτ' . . . λέγων of C which has been replaced
in Koerte's text by Leo's emendation τότ' . . . λέγειν.[7] Leo's reasons,
as far as they go, are convincing. Croiset and Lefebvre had suggested
that λέγων referred to the herder most recently mentioned in 123.[8]
Leo disagreed with this and decided that the translation given by them,
"I had no right to speak for the child," demanded the infinitive and that
τότε made better sense than τοῦτο. However, all of them had punctua-
ted the text:

Οὔπω παρ' ἐμοὶ τοῦτ' ἦν ὑπὲρ τούτου λέγων·

to avoid the hyperbaton of δέ. In the same year von Arnim defended the
text of C, arguing that ὑπὲρ τούτου λέγων belonged with the following
line and explaining the hyperbaton of δέ by a strong contrast between
τούτου and ἐμαυτοῦ.[9] He explained τοῦτ' as τὸ παιδίον. This was
adopted by Richards and Croiset,[10] the latter interpreting τοῦτ' more
acceptably as the act of claiming the γνωρίcματα.

The obvious reasons for not accepting the reading of the text are the
two forms of οὗτος in the same line and the hyperbaton of δέ. The first
objection can be overcome easily with several parallels from Menander:

ἔχων τὰ τούτου; ΧΑ/ τοῦτο δ' οἴει; κατάβαλε.	*Asp.* 273
(ΧΡ.) ὅτι τοῦτ' ἀνειλόμην. (ΔΗ.) διὰ τοῦτο καί—(ΧΡ.) τί καί;	
	Sam. 374
τοῦτο γ' ἀποκρ[ῖν]αι πόθεν ἔχεις ταῦτ'; οὐκ ἄπει	*Kol.* 52
ὅμως πεπονθὼc ταῦτα νῦν ταύτην ἔχειν	frag. 186.3
τούτοιc, ὑπὲρ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ προcαιτῶν καὶ ῥυπῶν	frag. 215.6
τούτων δὲ πρὸc ταῦτ' ἀντανελεῖν τὴν ζημίαν.	frag. 264.9

[7] F. Leo, *GöttNachr*, 1907, 319.
[8] Lefebvre (above, n. 2). M. Croiset, *JSav*, 1907, 523.
[9] H. von Arnim, *ZöstG* 58 (1907) 1061.
[10] H. Richards, *CR* 22 (1908) 48. M. Croiset, *RÉG* 21 (1908) 256–257.

The problem of delayed δέ is solved almost as easily. One need only give as parallels for distance and number of sense units the following:

$$τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων$$
αὐτοὶ δὲ . . .   *Asp.* 203–204

$$οὐ Θετταλικὸν τὸν χρηστὸν εἶναι φασί δέ;$$
Antiphanes 34.3 K.

Furthermore one can cite the close syntactical relationship among the four words which precede δέ as a fact which makes the hyperbaton possible, thus the reading

$$οὔπω παρ' εμοὶ τοῦτ' ἦν· ὑπὲρ τούτου λέγων$$
ἥκω δὲ . . .

is the most reasonable.

Although *O* has not brought any startling new information about the *Epitrepontes*, it has forced a reappraisal of some of the accepted readings of the text as Koerte[3] has printed it. In this it has brought to light some old solutions to old problems which have been too long ignored.

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THE PERUSINE WAR AND TRIUMVIRAL ITALY

Emilio Gabba

THE interpretation of the Perusine War and of the Italian political
situation during the second Triumvirate is chiefly bound to the
evaluation of the historical tradition in the fifth book of Appian's *Civil
Wars* and to a comparison with the parallel narration in Cassius Dio's
Roman History. It seems that the historical work of the Severan
senator had undergone much influence of the Augustan point of view
(such as the life of Mark Antony in Plutarch's biographies), although it
preserves, at the same time, also several arguments of the political
propaganda against Octavian. Appian's historical sources seem to go
back to an independent and carefully thought out interpretation of those
political events. A detailed study of book 5 of Appian's *Civil Wars* has
convinced me that perhaps this historical relation can be assumed, in a
great degree, as the framework for a reconstruction of the triumviral age
in Italy.

When, after the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C., the two victorious
Triumvirs divided the political and military tasks,[1] Antony kept for
himself those which were connected with the reorganization of the
eastern portion of the Empire. He evidently considered these to be more
important and more promising for the future. Octavian was charged
with the settlement of the veterans in Italy, an assignment which was
expected to bring him more animosity than glory. Not only was he
closely watched by Antony's armies in the west; but the young Triumvir
also found himself suspected in the eyes of the traditional senatorial
class, as well as up against a general hostile movement spread out
through all of Italy, which anxiously looked forward to another

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A version of this paper was delivered as a James C. Loeb Classical Lecture at
Harvard University in November 1969. It relies heavily upon the historical
introduction and the commentary of my edition of book 5 of Appian's *Civil Wars*
(Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1970), and for this reason references to modern works
are deliberately sparse. I have cited Appian always by books and sections. My
debt to the splendid chapters devoted to this subject by Sir Ronald Syme in his
Roman Revolution will be evident.

[1] App. *BC* 5.11; Cass. Dio 48.1–2.

confiscation of land. Octavian's only hope lay in staying as close as possible to the troops he was supposed to recompense, and in gathering support for himself by meeting their demands.

The possibility of opposition on the part of the senatorial class must not be altogether dismissed. The other Triumvir, M. Aemilius Lepidus, had remained in Italy during the war against the Tyrannicides and had been watched by Calenus' legions.[2] Although, according to the historical tradition, later influenced by Augustus' propaganda, he appeared a nonentity, Octavian clearly feared that he could become politically dangerous in senatorial circles and could at any time lead a senatorial opposition to him.[3] Lepidus' political position was reinforced by family traditions that converged in his person, as well as by his friendship with Sextus Pompeius, who was in Sicily at the time, and who was becoming the center of the armed opposition to the Triumvirate. Moreover, Lepidus cannot have been completely without personal resources since Caesar on more than one occasion entrusted him with important assignments.

The opposition of the landowners, who were on the verge of being hit by the land confiscations, was scattered, but no less dangerous for its being widespread, and it had strong support in the public opinion of Rome and Italy. It is a well-known fact that the misfortunes of the Italian property owners, driven away from their own holdings,[4] left very noticeable traces in the Latin literature of this period: Virgil, Propertius, and Horace all echo passionately the injustice of the confiscations,[5] which affected not only the eighteen Italic cities chosen during the meeting of Bononia in 43 B.C. as the cities to be handed over to the veterans.[6] If one takes a close look at the literary and epigraphic evidence, one is forced to conclude that at least forty Italic cities, especially in Campania, Samnium, Umbria, Picenum, Etruria, and in northern Italy, were involved in the confiscations and the allotments of property. One should not be surprised by this extremely high number compared to the eighteen cities that were originally selected, because it follows from the historical tradition that, when the land of the town was insufficient, one simply invaded the holdings of the neighboring

[2] App. *BC* 5.14 and 46.

[3] Cass. Dio 48.1.2, 2.2, 3.6, 5.1; cf. *App. BC* 5.11 and 47.

[4] App. *BC* 5.48–49.

[5] Virg. *Ecl.* 1 and 9; *Dirae*; Prop. 4.71.27, 127–130; Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.49–52; cf. E. Gabba, *Appiano e la storia delle guerre civili* (Firenze 1956) 230; E. Paratore, *Studi Romani* 8 (1960) 523–534.

[6] App. *BC* 4.11 (cf. 362).

towns.[7] The most eloquent example of this practice is that of Virgil's Mantua, too close to unfortunate Cremona.[8]

It is not easy to calculate the number of soldiers who were supposed to receive the land, because of the uncertain data we have to work with; however, there must have been no less than twenty-eight legions, even though they were not at full complement.[9] Moreover, it is expressly attested that Octavian, in an attempt to win the favor of the troops, rewarded at least six more.[10]

It was a question of an upheaval of immense importance, even greater than Sulla's colonization, which does not appear to have left any appreciable traces in the structure of Italic society.[11] It was an agrarian and social disaster. From an agrarian and economic point of view, the violent and sudden change in a whole class of landowners must have caused a serious disruption in the working of the fields, followed by a drop in production or at least in certain types of production. Most probably industrialized cultivations, such as olives, vines, and pastures, were only slightly damaged, whereas the effect of the confiscations was far more serious on farms whose main produce was cereals, that is to say on middle-sized farms.[12]

There are definite proofs of this agricultural crisis;[13] and it is, furthermore, confirmed by the terrible difficulties of supplying Rome during this period.[14] The famine that hit Rome was most certainly caused by the impossibility of receiving provisions from Sardinia, Spain, Sicily, and Africa, because of the naval blockade initiated by Sextus Pompeius. However, since this phenomenon affected the whole of Italy, though less conspicuously, while even the usual Italic channels of supplying Rome, by land and by water, had become arduous and insufficient,[15] it seems evident that the general upheaval of Italy's agricultural condition also contributed to creating this difficult situation.

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[7] Ibid., 5.51 and 59, cf. 106.

[8] Virg. *Ecl.* 9.28; H. Bennet, "Virgil and Pollio," *AJP* 51 (1930) 332–342; E. Paratore, *Una nuova ricostruzione del "de poetis" di Svetonio*² (Bari 1950) 157ff; I do not agree with J. Bayet, "Virgile et les Triumvirs agris dividundis," *REL* 6 (1928) 271–299, now in *Mélanges de littérature latine* (Roma 1967) 169–196.

[9] App. *BC* 5.21 and 27.

[10] Ibid., 5.86–87; cf. Cass. Dio 48.5.2.

[11] Gabba, *Athenaeum* n.s. 29 (1951) 229ff.

[12] App. *BC* 5.49. The expropriated Italic owners are called γεωργοί in App. *BC* 5.60, 74, 182, 219.

[13] Ibid., 5.72 and 314; cf. Cass. Dio 48.9.4–5.

[14] App. *BC* 5.60, 72, 280.

[15] Ibid., 5.72; cf. Cass. Dio 48.9.4–5.

From a social point of view, the confiscations and allotments represented a complete disaster for a large portion of the modest Italian property owners. With some exaggeration, Mark Antony stated in a speech, given at Ephesus before the Greeks of Asia, that one could speak of the Italic populations as being quite literally removed from their land.[16] This particular aspect of the matter has been, and can be, considered in various ways. I am not sure that one can speak of a massive emigration having taken place at this particular moment from Italy — toward Africa, for example, as some scholars have tried to prove by quoting a passage from Virgil and even less substantial evidence.[17] Certainly those who escaped to Sicily and joined Sextus Pompeius did not belong exclusively to the upper classes;[18] and it is possible that the subsequent colonization by Augustus in the Orient was aimed, among other things, at providing a homestead for the ousted Italici[19] (as it surely did in the case of Antony's settlers[20]). In many cases the dispossessed owners will have remained on their land as tenants of the new owners. Many, as is well known, had joined together as early as 43 B.C., had formed groups of resistance to which also many of the proscribed adhered, and, for many years thereafter, had wandered through Italy in armed bands.[21]

I think, however, that it is more plausible to say that the vast majority of dispossessed owners contributed to increase, as is the usual case, in the urban proletariat, mostly, but not uniquely, in Rome, thus aggravating the existing problem of supplying the city with food. The tradition well remembers the influx to Rome of the Italic landowners and their families, in search of justice or compensation from the political authorities, who were unable to help them or else were more prone to aid the

[16] App. *BC* 5.22.

[17] Virg. *Ecl.* 1. 64–66. T. Frank, "Vergil's First Eclogue and the Migration to Africa," *CR* 40 (1926) 15–16; not groundless doubts in W. E. Heitland, "A Great Agricultural Emigration from Italy?" *JRS* 8 (1918) 34–57; cf. M. Hammond, *HSCP* 69 (1965) 159 n. 46, and A. J. N. Wilson, *Emigration from Italy in the Republican Age of Rome* (Manchester 1966) 54 and 63–64, with my remarks in *RFIC* 95 (1967) 211–212.

[18] App. *BC* 5.219; on the flights of slaves and deserters: ibid., 304 and 314; Cass. Dio 48.36.5, 45.7. App. *BC* 5.99 concerns the upper class.

[19] G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965) 62–72.

[20] Cass. Dio 51.4.6 (30 B.C.).

[21] App. *BC* 4.104: Syme, *Historia* 8 (1959) 209; cf. 4.180 and 195–197: Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 193–194; 36 B.C.: Cass. Dio 48.15.1 (Etruria); App. *BC* 5.547. I am not sure whether we can connect with this troublous situation the case of Gallus in Prop. 1.21: H. E. Butler and E. A. Barber, *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford 1933) 186f; P. J. Enk, *Sex. Propertii Elegiarum Liber I (monobiblos)* II (Lugduni Batavorum 1946) 192ff.

veterans.[22] It is also highly probable that this unfortunate sight, placed in the eyes of the public and before the people of the capital,[23] contributed to revive the traditional motif of the Gracchan ideology of the poor peasant driven from his miserable piece of land and forced to wander about the country with his wife and children — at one time by an overbearing neighbor, at present by brutal soldiers: *rudis infestis miles radiabat in armis* (Propertius 4.1.27).[24]

Octavian's attitude, as was that of Mark Antony's followers,[25] was conditioned uniquely by the need to keep the troops quiet.[26] Never before had the political importance of the new, mutual relationships that were being formed in the professional armies between generals and soldiers revealed itself to such an extent. Ancient historiography relates in accurate terms the feelings of the general public in connection with this disconcerting aspect that was becoming a decisive factor in the confused network of social relations, after having made its first appearance soon after Caesar's death.[27]

In this context it seems suitable to quote in full a famous chapter by Appian, *Civil Wars* 5.17:

The cause was that the generals, for the most part, as is usually the case in civil wars, were not regularly chosen; that their armies were not drawn from the enrolment according to the custom of the fathers, nor for the benefit of their country; that they did not serve the public so much as they did the individuals who brought them together; and that they served these not by force of law, but by reason of private promises; not against the common enemy, but against private foes; not against foreigners, but against fellow-citizens, their equals in rank. All these things impaired military discipline, and the soldiers thought that they were not so much serving in the army as lending assistance, by their own favour and judgment, to leaders who needed them for their own personal ends. Desertion, which had formerly been unpardonable, was now actually rewarded with gifts, and whole armies resorted to it, including some illustrious men, who did not consider it desertion to change to a like cause, for all parties were alike, since neither of them could be distinguished as battling against the common enemy of the Roman people. The common pretence of the generals that they were all striving for the good of the country made

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[22] App. *BC* 5.49 and 74.
[23] Ibid., 5.50.
[24] Gabba, *Athenaeum* n.s. 29 (1951) 180 n. 1; A. La Penna, *Orazio e l'ideologia del Principato* (Torino 1963) 44.
[25] App. *BC* 5.55–56, 58.
[26] Ibid., 5.51, 53, 61–67.
[27] Ibid., 2.507; H. Botermann, *Die Soldaten und die römische Politik in der Zeit von Caesars Tod bis zur Begründung des zweiten Triumvirats* (München 1968).

desertion easy in the thought that one could serve his country in any party. Understanding these facts the generals tolerated this behaviour, for they knew that their authority over their armies depended on donatives rather than on law.[28]

Even a historian such as Cornelius Nepos, who was little involved politically, adds a comment in the life of Eumenes 8.2, which is pertinent to the Triumviral period in which he is writing:

For that famous phalanx of Alexander the Great, which had overrun Asia and conquered the Persians, after a long career of glory as well as of licence claimed the right to command its leaders instead of obeying them, even as our veterans do to-day. And so there is danger that our soldiers may do what the Macedonians did, and ruin everything by their licence and law-lessness, their friends as well as their enemies. For if anyone should read the history of those veterans of old, he would recognize a parallel in our own, and decide that the only difference is one of time.[29]

During these very same years, and in connection with the same political climate, Sallust wrote in the *Bellum Jugurthinum* these famous words, describing the first enlistment of the proletarian volunteers of 107 B.C.: *homini potentiam quaerenti egentissimus quisque opportunissimus, cui neque sua cara, quippe quae nulla sunt, et omnia cum pretio honesta videntur* (86.3).[30]

Needless to say, these considerations are rather conservative in tone and fit in quite well with the atmosphere of turbulence, unrest, and opposition in which the upper classes of Rome were living, opposed to the extraordinary triumviral magistracy and turned with longing toward the past and the reestablishment of a mode of legality which would once more be in their favor.

However, because of a phenomenon which is not uncommon, these military forces, which dominated the political life of the state with the revolutionary weight of their social and economic demands, begin, as the latter are satisfied, to assume a new connotation as a ruling force of law and order that aims to maintain the achieved positions and that refuses to risk everything by engaging in new adventures. There is no

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[28] From the English translation of H. White (Loeb Classical Library).

[29] From the English translation of John C. Rolfe (Loeb Classical Library). Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 250; Gabba, *Athenaeum* n.s. 29 (1951) 183ff; W. Schmitthenner, *Historische Zeitschrift* 190 (1960) 1–17; P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 52 (1962) 76; L. Polverini, *Aevum* 38 (1964) 450; cf. H. Drexler, "Parerga Caesariana," *Hermes* 70 (1935) 225; P. Jal, *La guerre civile à Rome. Étude littéraire et morale* (Paris 1963) 129.

[30] Gabba, *Athenaeum* n.s. 27 (1949) 198ff.

other way of explaining the decisive role that the active military forces, the veterans, who had been settled in the colonies, and the officers came to play as mediators, who can impose their will on the great political leaders and can force them to follow a political line of peace or accommodation.

Famous episodes such as the negotiations which preceded the Perusine War,[31] and in particular the pact of Teanum,[32] the conciliatory attitude of the troops after the surrender of Perusia,[33] or the will of peace of the soldiers before the treaty of Brundisium,[34] clearly demonstrate the importance of the armies and especially of these ἡγεμόνες τοῦ στρατοῦ.[35] Among the latter one should look not only for Octavian's and Antony's generals, but also, and perhaps more, for the legionary officers,[36] for whom the memory of and loyalty to the divine Julius were more alive, the feeling of unity in Caesar's faction more real, and the memory of Mark Antony's great merits in the common victory ever present.[37] These officers were indistinguishable from the troops as far as social background and political and economic demands were concerned.[38] However, they had come to acquire a growing sense of civic responsibility, as the tribunes and the centurions assumed magisterial functions both in the new colonies and in their own towns, to which they returned full of prestige and of booty.[39]

It is easy to guess to what extent Octavian had to struggle in order to overrule this attitude of the troops and turn their thoughts and actions toward his own interests. Suffice it to mention the efforts on the part of the Augustan historiography, in which the army's independent actions are deliberately suppressed and in which the army itself is presented,

[31] App. *BC* 5.79ff. The army proposed three conciliatory agreements, the senators two (ibid., 5.85–89; Cass. Dio 48.11.3–4; App. *BC* 5.111–113).

[32] App. *BC* 5.79–81; Cass. Dio 48.10.2.

[33] App. *BC* 5.196–200.

[34] Ibid., 5.220, 240–241, 246–248 (*Cohortes praetoriae*), 268, 272. For *CIL* X 5159 = *ILS* 3784 (*signum* dedicated to the *Concordia* in Casinum) E. Pais, *Dalle guerre Puniche a Cesare Augusto* II 369ff.

[35] App. *BC* 5.79, 81, 84, 85, 91; cf. 90 (officers of two legions of the colony in Ancona). Ibid., 2.523: οἱ τῶν κληρούχων ἡγεμόνες.

[36] Ibid., 5.268 (*tribuni militum*); Cass. Dio 48.12.3 maintains that the veterans who acted as mediators between Octavian and L. Antonius were called sneeringly (perhaps by the senators?) *senatus caligatus*.

[37] App. *BC* 5.57, 220, 245, 246.

[38] Gabba, *Athenaeum* n.s. 29 (1951) 202ff; R. E. Smith, *Service in Post-Marian Roman Army* (Manchester 1958) 68–69; Schmitthenner (above, n. 29) 13ff. App. *BC* 5.532 is very important.

[39] Gabba, *Athenaeum* n.s. 29 (1951) 245–247.

from the very beginning, as an element of a historical "cadre" dominated solely by Octavian: from this point of view and in connection with the Perusine War, it is enlightening to compare the accounts of Cassius Dio and Appian.

It is in this confused context that one must insert the movements of the consul of 41 B.C., Lucius Antonius. His personality and his political objectives have been partially deformed by Augustan propaganda and historiography, which tended to present him either as a mere instrument in the hands of his sister-in-law, Fulvia, Mark Antony's wife (who supposedly acted solely out of jealousy toward Cleopatra), or else as a spokesman for the dispossessed Italic landowners in opposition to Octavian and the veterans.[40]

In reality the situation was more complex. From what we know, it is fairly certain that L. Antonius actually rose up in defense of the laws of the Republic and of the traditional magistracies against the arbitrary acts of the Triumvirate.[41] This interpretation is, in my opinion, quite acceptable. In the agreements of Teanum of June–July 41 B.C., the consuls' independence and autonomy in relation to the Triumvirs were once more asserted.[42] Also, the fact that the struggle against Octavian was seen as a struggle for freedom is proven by the famous incident of Nursia, which erected a monument for its men who died in the Perusine War, with an inscription that they had died in the cause of freedom.[43] Finally, if, as I believe to be the case, we can accept an explanation offered by Ed. Schwartz, it would seem that this point of view of L. Antonius had been in some way officially recognized because of the inclusion of a speech of his, addressed to Octavian, in the *Acta Diurna Populi Romani*, quoted by Appian.[44]

On the other hand, it is equally certain that, at this particular time, to profess liberal and traditional ideals meant that one was assuming an unfavorable attitude toward the veterans, or rather a favorable attitude toward the Italic landowners, victims of the confiscations. Although L. Antonius, possibly in good faith, tried to deny those two facts, by referring to the Antonian colonies founded by himself and his friends,[45]

[40] Liv. *Per.* 125; Cass. Dio 48.4.1–6, 6.4–5, 10.3.
[41] App. *BC* 5.74 and 118; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 14.1.
[42] App. *BC* 5.79–80.
[43] Cass. Dio 48.13.6; F. Blumenthal, *WS* 35 (1913) 284.
[44] App. *BC* 5.176–190 (speeches of L. Antonius and Octavian after the surrender of Perusia), 191 (translation of the speeches from the Latin ἐκ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων); Ed. Schwartz, *Hermes* 33 (1898) 209, 232 n. 4. On this subject cf. my article in the forthcoming *Miscellanea Ferrero*.
[45] App. *BC* 5.162–163, 182–183.

it is undeniable that Octavian's propaganda had an easy task in bolstering these two points.[46] In fact, Octavian was successful in convincing at least the greater portion of the veterans, who at the beginning had been hesitant to take sides with him.[47]

Furthermore, the attitude of the Antonian armies in Gaul and Italy is also very indicative. Calenus and his eleven legions did not even stir from Gaul;[48] Asinius Pollio and Ventidius, who were in Cisalpine Gaul, and Munatius Plancus, who was in southern Italy, proceeded with great slowness and in full disagreement.[49] Though the failure to intervene decisively in favor of L. Antonius, who was besieged in the city of Perusia, is usually attributed to Plancus,[50] the historical tradition gives two definite reasons for the belated and irresolute response: Antony's generals were against the objectives of the war led by L. Antonius, and, on the other hand, they were totally unaware of Mark Antony's intentions. The former reason clearly indicates that Antony's generals realized the difficulty they were up against in trying to make their troops fight for a cause that was outside, or even contrary to, their own interests.[51] And it is not without meaning that a great portion of L. Antonius' army in Perusia was made up of recruits.[52]

L. Antonius, both before and during the military operations that ended in the siege of Perusia, was supported by the senatorial class and even more so by Italy's middle class.[53] We should add that Octavian had tried his utmost to gain the support of the senatorial class: at first he had renewed Lepidus' position as a Triumvir, and he had promised to give him the African provinces, along with a large number of troops;[54] later, since he was aware of the political influence exerted by the traditional governing class, and in order to avoid any clashes with the class of the big landowners, he decided to exempt from confiscation the properties as well as the dowries belonging to the matrons of the aristocracy.[55] This measure was dictated by political necessity, but it was very unpopular with the veterans. The Triumvir was thus forced to take further steps and to exempt from confiscation the holdings belonging

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[46] Ibid., 5.74–75, 106; cf. Cass. Dio 48.7.1–2.
[47] App. *BC* 5.106; Cass. Dio 48.13.3.
[48] App. *BC* 5.130, 214: these passages refute the contrary statement at 95.
[49] Ibid., 5.126 and also 131, where the text is probably wrong.
[50] Vell. 2.74.3; App. *BC* 5.141.
[51] Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 211.
[52] App. *BC* 5.95, 194, 198.
[53] Ibid., 5.106, 114; Cass. Dio 48.10.3, 14.3–4, 11.1.
[54] App. *BC* 5.47, 223, 321.
[55] Cass. Dio 48.8.1–5.

to soldiers' families and to the heirs of those who died in combat.[56]
The holdings inferior to the new allotments from the veterans, which
varied in size between twenty-five and sixty iugera,[57] had been pre-
viously exempted from confiscation.

This information, offered by Cassius Dio, is interesting for various
reasons. First of all, it clearly came to limit the social class which carried
the financial burden of the confiscations and allotments, that is to say
the class of the modest-size property owners in Italy: the same class in
which Cicero had tried in vain to instill, in previous years, a sense of
political responsibility, while leading it away from the egoistic economic
interest of the moment.[58] In the second place, this information points
out that the soldiers, at least in part, came from the class of the small
landowners, which therefore must have still been in existence in many
various regions of Italy. This leads us to believe that the veterans'
desire to own land was probably quite sincere and strongly felt.[59] It is
not without reason that the soldiers tried to get allotments in the land
they originally came from. To make a final point, I should like to add
that the respect for the large holdings belonging to the senators, which,
as was previously mentioned, underwent forms of industrialized cultiva-
tion and which must have been the prime example of Italic agriculture,
explains why, a few years later, Varro in his *De re rustica* of 37 B.C. does
not echo the agricultural upheaval caused by the confiscations and the
allotments. This interpretation is perhaps preferable to the thesis sup-
ported, for example, by W. E. Heitland,[60] according to which Varro is
referring to the period of 67–54 B.C.

Nonetheless, Octavian's conciliatory attitude did not help in obtaining
the support, or even the neutrality, of the senatorial class: the tradition
is clear in showing that the majority of the upper classes sympathized
with L. Antonius,[61] just as in subsequent years, up until 36 B.C., they
supported Sextus Pompeius.

It is equally obvious that the expropriated Italici saw in L. Antonius
their own champion, without his wishing it, and they helped him in his

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[56] Ibid., 48.9.3.

[57] *Gromatici Veteres* 214.14 Lachmann.

[58] E. Lepore, "Da Cicerone ad Ovidio," *Parola del Passato* 13 (1958) 109–110.
I cannot agree with S. Mazzarino, *L'Impero Romano* (Roma 1956) 561 n. 2, who
ascribes "Antonian" (of Mark Antony) ideals to the Italic middle class before
Brundisium.

[59] P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 52 (1962) 69–86.

[60] W. E. Heitland, *Agricola* (Cambridge 1921) 178–179. I have followed this
opinion in *Athenaeum* n.s. 29 (1951) 234 n. 5.

[61] App. *BC* 5.114.

struggle against the Triumvirate.[62] It is easy to notice that the areas in which the war of 41–40 B.C. was fought correspond almost perfectly to those in which the allotments are attested, and therefore to the preceding confiscations.[63] But fear of the confiscations was widespread and almost the whole of Italy arose in arms: it is in this sense that the observation of Sir Ronald Syme can be accepted, that the *Bellum Perusinum* represented the final attempt of Italy against Rome.[64]

The total ignorance of what Mark Antony, far away in the eastern provinces, was thinking increased the ambiguity and uncertainty of the already confused situation in 41 B.C. Both his brother and his wife claimed to act in Antony's name.[65] Consul Lucius assumed the honorific *cognomen* Pietas and asserted his capacity of persuading Mark Antony to lay down his extraordinary magistracy.[66] Moreover, Fulvia maintained that Octavian favored his own troops and was hurting her husband's interests.[67] The position of Octavian was delicate also from this point of view. The pacts between him and Mark Antony after Philippi had been clear in defining the respective areas of influence, but the name of Mark Antony had so strong an appeal for the troops that Octavian must have been concerned over possible reaction to Fulvia's charges.[68]

It cannot be said with assurance what Mark Antony really thought of the situation in Italy. Even so, news came and went between Syria and Rome and between Egypt and Rome in that second half of 41 B.C. First Antony's liaison with a Cappadocian princess[69] and later his infatuation with Cleopatra were common knowledge at Rome. In this regard Octavian wrote some unpleasant verses,[70] and Fulvia's jealousy was very well known to everybody,[71] even the Antonians themselves were not certainly satisfied by their leader's conduct. Besides, the two opposing parties had sent to him more than one embassy to request enlightenment on their questions.[72] The answers must have been ambiguous; in a letter Antony made reference to the necessity of defending his own *dignitas*:[73]

[62] Ibid., 5.106.
[63] E. Pais, *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1 (1884–1885) 40.
[64] Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 208.
[65] App. *BC* 5.56; Cass. Dio 48.5.4–5.
[66] App. *BC* 5.180; cf. 227.
[67] Ibid., 5.54–56; cf. 58–59 and 75–76.
[68] Ibid., 5.58–59, 109; Cass. Dio 48.5.5, 7.3–5.
[69] App. *BC* 5.31; Cass. Dio 49.32.3–4.
[70] Mart. 11.20.
[71] *ILLRP* 1106, 1112; App. *BC* 5.75, 278.
[72] App. *BC* 5.251–253, 83.
[73] Ibid., 5.112: Appian's doubts about the authenticity of the letter are accepted by Groag, *Klio* 14 (1914) 44, without good reasons, in my opinion.

an old argument that could justify every kind of interpretation. The
envoys sent last by the colonists themselves were detained by Antony
at Alexandria for the whole winter of 41–40 B.C.[74] It is not even true that
at a certain point, because of the coming of the winter and the *mare
clausum*, he was ignorant of the actual beginning of the war. We know
well that one could sail in the winter months, and furthermore it is con-
firmed that Antony was informed of the events.[75] On the other hand, it
is certain that his generals in Italy were left without directives and just
because of this acted without resolution.

It seems probable that precisely the ideological motives bruited by
L. Antonius were the cause of Mark Antony's attitude. Whatever
Antony's attitude to Octavian in 33–32 B.C. on the subject of the Tri-
umvirate,[76] surely he did not share his brother's republican sentiments.
And, further, I think that he could not have approved Lucius' alliance
with the Italian expropriated classes, even though Lucius may not have
sought any alliance. Antony knew too well the importance of guaran-
teeing in every way the troops' loyalty. On the other hand, it would have
been very damaging for him to repudiate his brother; this act would
have served to reinforce Octavian's position, which was a thing he
certainly could not have wanted.

Because of this he must have followed with extreme embarrassment
the direction, contrary to his own plans and interests, which Lucius'
opposition to Octavian was about to take, and for just this reason he did
not send back the envoys of the colonies. He must have soon reached
the conclusion that the best policy to follow was that of not intervening
and of letting Fulvia and his brother compromise themselves, without
himself taking responsibility for their action. Only in this way could he
retain the support of his army, the real basis of his power, which Lucius
was foolishly jeopardizing for an ideology that was at that time un-
seasonable. Mark Antony knew the military inferiority of his brother,
and took care not to pressure his generals into an active strategy. On
the other hand, the eventuality, even if remote, of a victory for L.
Antonius would always have redounded to his own favor.

Under these conditions the outcome of the war, on a purely military
level, was decided from the start. One should note that the lack of
intervention on the part of Calenus' Gallic legions placed the Antonians

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[74] App. *BC* 5.216.

[75] Cass. Dio 48.27.1; contra Plut. *Ant.* 30.1. H. Bucheim, "Die Orientpolitik
des Triumvirs M. Antonius," *Abh. Heidelberger Ak.*, phil.-hist. Kl. 1960 H. 3,
30–31.

[76] Suet. *Aug.* 28.1.

in Italy, at any rate, in a position of inferiority, even in respect to the numbers of Octavian's troops. By itself L. Antonius' army was even weaker. Octavian could rely on the very high military capacity of Salvidienus Rufus and Agrippa. Of the Antonians only Ventidius was an able general. After various military operations, which in their dispersion give a clear idea of the different points at which the struggle burst out in Italy and therefore of the war as a kind of insurrection,[77] the clever strategy of Agrippa, who was able to seize Sutrium in the rear of L. Antonius,[78] forced the consul to shut himself up in the trap of Perusia. The siege of a city, if conducted with decision and rigor even against armies eventually coming to the rescue, always gave advantage to the besieger. Praeneste in the first civil war[79] and Alesia in the Gallic War[80] were models that were certainly present to Octavian's generals and to the Antonians. The outcome of the siege of Perusia corresponded to the predictions.

However, we must take into account that the fall of Perusia and the surrender had, militarily and politically, only a limited value. In this case the calculations that we have attributed to Mark Antony are seen to have been exact. Octavian's position in Italy had not improved much. The Antonian armies could move freely through the peninsula. Asinius Pollio imposed harsh rule upon Venetic territory and from Ravenna joined Domitius Ahenobarbus, who was in control of the Adriatic.[81] It appears that Ventidius was able to descend from Umbria toward Tarentum.[82] Only the army of Munatius Plancus was partially dissolved,[83] but his cavalry was able to reach Pompeius in Sicily.[84] Part of Campania was in revolt through the effort of Claudius Nero, father of the future emperor Tiberius, who had also urged the slaves to free themselves.[85] The veterans that Agrippa and Octavian tried to enroll against Mark Antony refused to march.[86]

The new fact, which constituted a large advantage for Octavian, but which at the same time threatened to drive his relations with Antony into open war, was the death of Calenus in Gaul with the consequent

[77] On the military operations: M. Reinhold, "The Perusine War," *CW* 26 (1933) 180–182, and my forthcoming article in *Mélanges Durry*.

[78] App. *BC* 5.122.

[79] Ibid., 1.402ff.

[80] Caes. *Del bello Gallico* 7.69ff.

[81] Vell. 2.76.2–3; App. *BC* 5.209, 212; Macrob. 1.11.22.

[82] App. *BC* 5.209.

[83] Ibid., 5.209–211.

[84] Ibid., 5.257.

[85] Vell. 2.75.1; Suet. *Tib.* 4.2; Cass. Dio 48.15.3–4.

[86] App. *BC* 5.240–241.

transference of his eleven legions to Octavian.[87] This fact was a deliberate act of hostility on the part of Octavian toward his colleague,[88] whom he could in no way reproach concerning the Perusine War. We know that Octavian had sought in vain to convince L. Antonius to admit alleged understandings with his brother.[89] Antony found himself then forced into a temporary alliance with Sextus Pompeius,[90] an alliance, on the other hand, which Octavian himself had tried to form by wedding the sister of Scribonius Libo, father-in-law of Pompeius.[91]

The disembarkation of Antony at Brundisium was made with small forces, and therefore without warlike intentions: but he found himself, contrary to his expectations, blocked by Octavian's troops, and he was confirmed in his impression that the latter wanted war at any price.[92] Whatever Octavian's intentions were, it is certain that he had once more to yield to the will of the army, which imposed — more on him than on Antony — the agreement of Brundisium in October of 40 B.C. and, as a confirmation of this, Antony's marriage to the sister of Octavian.[93]

There is no doubt that at this moment the army's desire for peace reflected public opinion which could not be avoided, and which is expressed, for example, in Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue* and Horace's *Sixteenth Epode*.[94] Even Salvidienus Rufus, whom Octavian had appointed commander of the army in Gaul, was then ready to abandon his leader and to align himself with Antony. The latter will later have bitterly regretted revealing the betrayal to his brother-in-law, who hastened to have the unfaithful general killed. The army of Gaul was given back to Antony.[95]

The events of the conference at Brundisium clearly demonstrate Octavian's gain through acquisition of all the western provinces including those previously controlled by Mark Antony. Nevertheless, just at that moment, the power of Italy, with the right accorded to both the Triumvirs to enroll troops,[96] could really appear to be equally divided

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[87] Ibid., 5.213–215.

[88] Ibid., 5.247, 255, 257.

[89] Ibid., 5.224–229.

[90] Ibid., 5.217–218, 238.

[91] Ibid., 5.222; Cass. Dio 48.16.2–3.

[92] App. *BC* 5.235–237, 243.

[93] Ibid., 5.272ff; Plut. *Ant.* 30.6.

[94] A. La Penna, *Orazio e l'ideologia del Principato* (Torino 1963) 29ff.

[95] App. *BC* 5.278–279; Cass. Dio 48.33.2–3; Suet. *Aug.* 66.3; Bucheim (above, n. 75) 39–40; J. Bleicken, "Senatsgericht und Kaisergericht," *Abh. Ak. Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl., 3e Folge 53 (1962) 23–32.

[96] App. *BC* 5.275; J. Kromayer, *Hermes* 33 (1898) 20–21; H. Mattingly, "Dives Anagnia," *Num. Chr.* 6th ser. 6 (1946) 91–96.

between the two, given the presence of Antony on Italic soil. Only during the following years will it appear always clearer that Italy also was in fact under the preeminent jurisdiction of Octavian.[97] In any case, in the year between November 40 and November 39, which the Triumvirs spent together in Rome, only the presence of the troops in the capital itself and Antony's intervention could save the Triumvirate and Octavian from succumbing to the burden of unpopularity. The opposition of the urban plebs, of the middle class, and of the aristocracy, diversely exasperated by the economic disaster caused by the blockade of Sextus Pompeius and by the harsh financial measures imposed by the Triumvirs, had never been so strong and degenerated at Rome into bloody streetfighting, in which Octavian was in mortal danger.[98] The memory of the terrible famine which afflicted Rome at that time must never have left Octavian, if, as a source reports, many years later when he was by then Augustus, he contemplated suicide when the city's food supply seemed nearly exhausted.[99]

The same force of public opinion imposed on the Triumvirs in 39 the peace of Misenum with Sextus Pompeius.[100]

The personality of Sextus Pompeius is also one of the most peculiar of this period, and one of the worst treated in the propaganda and historiography of Augustus. In the *Res gestae* the Sicilian War is called with contempt a war against pirates and slaves: *Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum . . .*[101] This characterization of Pompeius survived: he is the one who fights with the help of the slaves — so even in Horace.[102] In point of fact, some contemporaries must have had different notions and must have thought that the war had had importance, if for instance Cornelius Severus had the idea of devoting an epic narrative to the *Bellum Siculum*[103] (to say nothing of Octavian himself, author of a mysterious little poem entitled *Sicilia*).[104] Always in the *Res gestae* Augustus proudly recalls the number of slaves he restored to their owners, after the agreements, solemnly confirmed by the Senate and

[97] App. *BC* 5.389.
[98] Ibid., 5.280–289.
[99] [Aur. Victor], *Epitome de Caesaribus* 1.29–30; cf. Plin. *NH* 7.149 (Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* [Oxford 1969] 101 n. 5).
[100] App. *BC* 5.291.
[101] *Res gestae* 25.1.
[102] Hor. *Ep.* 4.19; 9.7–10; P. Grenade, *Le mythe de Pompée et les Pompéiens sous les Césars*, REA 52 (1950) 42ff.
[103] Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 253; Grenade (above, n. 102) 53ff.
[104] Suet. *Aug.* 85; Malcovati, *Imp. Caesaris Augusti opp. frr.*⁴ XIII.

deposited with the Vestals, had guaranteed them their liberty.[105] At any
rate, the Augustan interpretation is false and vulgar. As if Octavian
himself had not recourse to 20,000 slaves to arm his fleet in 37 and 36
B.C.,[106] and had not received into his service, made a knight, and ad-
mitted to his table Menodorus, a treacherous freedman of Pompeius.[107]
Octavian's hatred, sustained to his death and enshrined in his last
official document, was as great as the danger he had run.

Sextus Pompeius was a person of remarkable military ability. In 45
it seemed that, with the battle of Munda, Caesar had definitely destroyed
the Pompeian dream of creating in Spain the base for a successful new
struggle. But the victory had very short-lived consequences. A little
later, guerrilla warfare started again with vigor, and Sextus Pompeius
himself, trusting in the memory of his father and with the support of
the Spanish clientela and of Roman citizens in Spain, directed the new
rebellion.[108] This war too will have seemed to the Caesarians a form of
struggle worthy of bandits; but the Caesarian governors, Asinius Pollio
included, were defeated in battle one after the other, and the news of the
dictator's death reached Sextus Pompeius on the march toward Carta-
gena, after he had conquered Baetica and part of Tarraconensis.[109] It is
an irony of fate, but precisely while in Rome, a few months after March
44, Antony had a project of Caesar's approved for the foundation of the
Colonia Iulia Genitiva at Urso, known to us through a famous epigraphic
fragment.[110] Urso, as coins testify, was in the hands of Sextus Pom-
peius.[111] Sextus left Spain as a victor through the mediation of Aemilius
Lepidus, after the Senate had laden him with honors and guaranteed
him the restoration of his paternal possessions.[112]

In his new territory of Sicily he became the refuge of the proscribed
and the bulwark of the Republic. Even court historians like Velleius
Paterculus have to recognize the great merit of his having saved for the
state scores of persons on the republican side, who would otherwise

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[105] *Res gestae* 25.1; Oros. 6.18.33; Cass. Dio 49.12.4–5; App. *BC* 5.544–545
(cf. 307–308, 318; Cass. Dio 48.37.1); A. La Penna (above, n. 94) 56–57; E.
Maróti, in *Sozialökonomische Verhältnisse im Alten Orient und im klass. Altertum*
(Berlin 1961) 210–211.

[106] Suet. *Aug.* 16.1; Cass. Dio 48.49.1.

[107] App. *BC* 5.338; Cass. Dio 48.45.7; Suet. *Aug.* 74.2.

[108] App. *BC* 4.348–352; cf. Cass. Dio 45.10.1–6; Strab. 3.4.10; Flor. 2.13.87.

[109] Cic. *ad Att.* 16.4.2; Cass. Dio 45.10.3; F. Miltner, *RE* s.v. *Pompeius* no.
33, 2216–2217.

[110] A. D'Ors, *Epigrafía jurídica de la España Romana* (Madrid 1953) 167ff.

[111] M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge 1946) 24–25.

[112] Miltner (above, n. 109) 2217–2219.

have fallen victim to the proscriptions of the Triumvirs.[113] Propaganda directed against him stressed his lack of sincerity and his cruelty, but it can only name two Roman nobles put to death by him:[114] few when compared with the hundreds who perished in the triumviral period.

Down to the last, down to 36 B.C., Pompeius could count on faithful friends at Rome. The grateful recollection of his father was not at all extinct in the minds of a large part of the plebs.[115] The confiscations after Philippi had also driven to Sicily many expropriated Italici. Even so he continued to have a policy which seemed and seems irresolute. The historical tradition which is reflected in Appian, and which ought to go back to a contemporary source, is full of sad regret because Pompeius lost so many times the opportunity of landing in force in Italy, putting down Octavian, and reestablishing the Republic.[116] Even if this element is historically important, it expresses rather an interesting state of mind, not a serious historical evaluation. Sextus Pompeius was no fool. He knew very well that his naval superiority was not at all matched by an equal military force on land.[117] He also knew that the consensus, even if broad, of the middle and upper classes of Rome and Italy was not shared by the Caesarian troops, with which, once landed in Italy, he would have to deal. Sextus Pompeius preferred always to seek an alliance against Octavian with Mark Antony, whom he warned down to the last of the hypocrisy and bad faith of his brother-in-law.[118]

The pact of Misenum in 39 B.C. shows how he had sought to involve himself again in the Roman political game, without, on the other hand, removing himself from his own base in Sicily. The Triumvirs were forced to recognize for a quinquennium, that is to say for the very duration of their power, his government of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Peloponnese. Sextus Pompeius would become consul at the end of this time, in 33 B.C.[119] A clear symptom of the mutual mistrust that dominated these dealings and of the awareness of the precarious nature of the agreements reached is the fact that, while designating in advance the consuls for the successive years, the Triumvirs did not want to include Pompeian elements in the magistracies of the state except from 34 B.C.,

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[113] Vell. 2.77.2; App. *BC* 4.355–356; cf. 5.317 and 547; Gabba (above, n. 5) 204–205.

[114] L. Statius Murcus: Vell. 2.77.3; Cass. Dio 48.19.3; App. *BC* 5.294–295; A. Pompeius Bithynicus: App. *BC* 5.296; Liv. *Per.* 123; Cass. Dio 48.19.1.

[115] App. *BC* 5.414, 470.

[116] Ibid., 5.101, 383, 416, 583, 597.

[117] Ibid., 5.458–459, 474.

[118] Ibid., 5.556–563.

[119] Ibid., 5.304–305; Cass. Dio 48.36.3–6.

that is to say four whole years after the time that the pact had been agreed upon.[120] Pompeius pledged himself to withdraw his own troops from Italic bases, which are here named explicitly for the first time: they were surely in Bruttium.[121]

At any rate, the return to Rome of a substantial part of the émigré republicans represented the visible advantage of the peace that had been reached.[122] And it cannot be said that everyone aligned himself immediately with Octavian. Even the naval blockade stopped; commercial traffic and the supplying of food for Rome were renewed.

The peace, as is known, lasted a short time. Octavian, engaged first by insurrections in Gaul,[123] could not suddenly look for excuses for beginning hostilities with Pompeius again. It is evident that Pompeius' position in the central Mediterranean was all against Octavian. The fact that Octavian had wanted — contrary to the general opinion in Italy, contrary to the advice of Antony, and in the midst of enormous military disasters — to take up again and to lead to a conclusion the struggle for the elimination of Pompeius is an indubitable demonstration of his tenacity and political intuition. It is more difficult to understand why, at the meeting of Tarentum in 37 B.C., Antony had helped him. I do not think it was only because of the promise of veterans from Italy for his campaign against the Parthians, in exchange for ships given to his brother-in-law: as is known, this promise was never kept. More probably his fidelity to the Caesarian cause induced him to help his colleague.

It was generally known that the accusations made with a great display of propaganda by Octavian against Pompeius, in order to justify the renewal of hostilities, were false.[124] The fact that he had accepted the desertion of the freedman Menodorus, the Pompeian admiral, with the turning over of Sardinia[125] was an open act of violation of the pact of Misenum. The defeat inflicted by Pompeius and the ensuing terrible storm that destroyed in the straits of Messina more than half of Octavian's fleet (38 B.C.) could appear to the people as divine punishment for the war started contrary to the pact.[126] Seldom in those stormy years had Octavian's situation been more critical than in the final months of 38 and the first months of 37 B.C. Insurrections threatened to break out

[120] App. *BC* 5.313.
[121] Ibid., 5.304.
[122] Vell. 2.77.3; App. *BC* 5.317.
[123] App. *BC* 5.318.
[124] Ibid., 5.325–329.
[125] Ibid., 5.330–332, 336, 337.
[126] Ibid., 5.384; cf. 341; Grenade (above, n. 102) 40ff.

in Italy. One could fear a coup d'état in Rome, where famine began to rage again.[127] Agrippa was far away, engaged in subduing rebellion in Gaul.

Besides, precisely at the end of 38 the quinquennium of the Triumvirate ran out. This date was awaited with mixed feelings. Public opinion wished for the end of the extraordinary magistracy but did not believe the Triumvirs would give up the power.[128] The veterans feared the end of the Triumvirate, in the suspicion that the lands assigned to them could be taken away. The Triumvirs themselves, who had no intention of renouncing the power, counted on the support of the troops.[129]

The question of the expiry of the Triumvirate, from a juridical and constitutional point of view, is much discussed. As is known, the final date of 31 December 38 was established by the *Lex Titia* of November 43.[130] A modern theory, widely held and based upon the high authority of Mommsen, maintains that the date of expiry was only an indication and that the Triumvirs would have been able to remain in office even beyond the previously fixed terminus: only abdication or revocation by the people could have put an end to the extraordinary magistracy.[131] It has to be said that this theory has no secure documentary basis and seems rather to have been excogitated precisely to explain the undeniable persistence of the triumviral powers of Octavian and Antony even beyond the established terminus.[132]

I have elsewhere reexamined the evidence connected with the expiry of the second Triumvirate,[133] and it seems to me that we can accept the theory that, when in Tarentum the Triumvirate was renewed for a second quinquennium, the final date was fixed at 31 December 32 B.C. I am well aware that this conclusion conflicts with the passage of the *Res gestae* 7, where Augustus himself says that he held the triumviral office for ten continuous years (συνεχέσιν ἔτεσιν δέκα), that is to say down to 31 December 33 B.C. But this evidence, although it is invoked as a fundamental one by many scholars for the solution of this problem,

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[127] App. *BC* 5.382, 384.

[128] Ibid., 5.50, 74, 180 (from L. Antonius' speech after Perusia).

[129] Ibid., 5.52, 61.

[130] Ibid., 4.27; Cass. Dio 47.2.1–2; *Fasti Colot.* in *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.274.

[131] Mommsen, *StR* II³ 718ff; P. Grenade, *Essai sur les origines du Principat* (Paris 1961) 20; U. Coli in *Studi in onore di V. Arangio-Ruiz* (Napoli 1953) IV 395–418.

[132] This theory is not shared by F. De Martino, *Storia della costituzione romana* (Napoli 1962) IV 1.82.

[133] "La data finale del secondo Triumvirato," *RFIC* 98 (1970) 3ff.

has, in my view, slight objective value and only indicates what Augustus, after more than forty years from the events, wanted to have believed. Certainly Augustus had every reason to present himself in 32 B.C., the year of the *coniuratio Italiae*, with a much greater legitimacy from the people than that which derived from the office of Triumvir, hated and unpopular.[134] The strange insistence on the ten *continuous* years tries indeed to reach this goal and also to deny the illegal position of Octavian in the first months of 37 B.C. We know that the meeting of Tarentum took place only in the spring, or, better, in the very end of the summer of 37 B.C.[135] It is, of course, possible that in this agreement the Triumvirs had legally recognized their acts of the first part of the year, so establishing a kind of artificial continuity with the beginning of the second triumviral period: it would have been a matter only of a juridical fiction, which was obviously accepted in the *Fasti consulares* for 37 B.C.[136]

At any rate, the position of the Triumvirs in the first months of 37 was illegal. This had little importance for Antony in the East and for Lepidus in Africa; but it had much importance for Octavian in Italy, under the weight of the military defeats of the preceding year and the burden of unpopularity. Strange episodes happened at Rome and attest the uncertain political atmosphere: an aedile, M. Oppius, formerly one of the proscribed, succeeded in creating for himself a substantial popular support in the urban plebs, against which intervention was necessary.[137] The differences with Antony, caused by a meeting which did not take place at Brundisium in 38 and by his open disapproval of the war against Pompeius, continued bitter.[138] Octavian had to send Maecenas to Athens to attempt to reestablish relations with his brother-in-law, and to ask for help.[139] Octavian, at a certain moment, feared an agreement between Antony and Lepidus behind his back.[140]

I believe that this critical situation of Octavian in the first months of 37 was remedied and saved by Agrippa. The latter, victorious toward the end of 38 B.C. in Aquitania, had not wanted to celebrate a triumph so as not to humiliate Octavian.[141] In 37 Agrippa was consul. A unique

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[134] K.-E. Petzold, "Die Bedeutung des Jahres 32 für die Entstehung des Principat," *Historia* 18 (1969) 334–357.
[135] App. *BC* 5.387.
[136] *Fasti Capitol.* in *Inscr. Ital.* XIII 1.59 and 135.
[137] Cass. Dio 48.53.4–6.
[138] App. *BC* 5.334–336; Cass. Dio 48.46.4.
[139] App. *BC* 5.385.
[140] Ibid., 5.391.
[141] Cass. Dio 48.49.4; cf. App. *BC* 5.386.

case in these years, he held office for the entire year; his colleague, the Antonian L. Caninius Gallus, was succeeded by the great T. Statilius Taurus as suffect.[142] Agrippa prepared the military organization of Octavian, reestablished his prestige, allowed him to present himself at the Tarentum meeting with Antony again in a position of strength. In the following year, 36 B.C., he carried off for Octavian the decisive victory over Sextus Pompeius.

This victory changed radically the position of Octavian. In the first place, it had as a consequence the collapse of Lepidus. Lepidus had acted cleverly in landing in Sicily and in conquering the principal strongholds of the island. But he certainly could not compete with Octavian in popularity with the troops. His own attempts to regain a position of prominence ended wretchedly.[143] But above all Octavian's position in Italy changed. He appeared to the very peoples, who had so long been hostile to him, as a savior.[144] The Senate, having also become obsequious because it was filled with recent partisans of the Triumvirs,[145] decreed for him unlimited honors, which the Triumvir modestly accepted only in part.[146] But previously senators and knights, who had shared the cause of Sextus Pompeius, had been "punished."[147] The repression of armed opposition in Rome itself and in Italy could be led with new energy: C. Calvisius Sabinus was entrusted with reestablishing order by the use of force. He succeeded in his plan in the course of one year, and he also established fixed military garrisons, as the inscriptions appear to show.[148]

At the same time Octavian proclaimed the end of the civil wars.[149] He granted a large remission of debts and rediscovered the right of property by restoring to the owners of Italy their fugitive slaves.[150] By anticipating the near end of the Triumvirate, he initiated the clever policy which eventually brought him to denying his responsibilities in the tragic period of the Triumvirate and to presenting himself as a champion of Roman and Italic traditions in the approaching and foreseeable war against Antony. The general weariness and a basic need for

[142] T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* II 395.
[143] App. *BC* 5.509–523; R. A. Bauman, *Acta Classica* 9 (1968) 129–141.
[144] App. *BC* 5.546.
[145] Cass. Dio 48.34.4–5.
[146] App. *BC* 5.538; Cass. Dio 49.15.1.
[147] Cass. Dio 49.12.4.
[148] App. *BC* 5.547; Cass. Dio 49.15.1; *ILLRP* 500; A. Degrassi, *Memorie Acc. Lincei* 8th ser. 14.2 (1969) 135.
[149] App. *BC* 5.540, 546.
[150] Ibid., 5.544–545; Cass. Dio 49.12.4–5; *Res gestae* 25.

assurance and legality favored his new policy, and thus there came into being the myth of the *Pax Augusta*[151] and of the savior of the world.[152]

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[151] S. Weinstock, "Pax and the 'Ara Pacis,'" *JRS* 50 (1960) 47ff.
[152] U. Laffi, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 16 (1967) 18, 49ff.

ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ: AN ASPECT OF GREEK SOCIETY IN EGYPT

Herbert C. Youtie

THE publication in 1916 of the twelfth volume of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, the first of the series to be composed entirely of nonliterary documents, many of them reflecting official interests, others private, elicited from the French classicist Théodore Reinach an expression almost of dismay concerning the state of Greek culture in Egypt during the early centuries of our era.[1] His words are plaintive, they betray shock. He wrote as follows: "Although Greek had become the administrative language of Egypt in the Graeco-Roman period, many papyrus documents published in these last years show that knowledge of Greek letters was not very widespread in the native population. In the administrative records as in the contracts, there is a constant concern with persons, even some of high social rank or occupying official positions, who do not know how to read and write."

It is true that the papyri contain only a limited number of references to persons whose literacy is guaranteed, and a great many more to the others who are said to be illiterate. The former are described as "knowing letters," the latter as "not knowing letters" or simply "unlettered."[2] These expressions appear to be quite straightforward, and perhaps they would in fact be so if we were not involved with the bilingual society of Greco-Roman Egypt.

The historical situation has long since become familiar. After a succession of Egyptian pharaohs extending back to about 3200 B.C., with only an occasional intrusion of foreign rulers, Egypt fell to the Persians in 525 and was taken from them by Alexander the Great in 332 in the course of his unexampled march from Macedon to India. On Alexander's death at Babylon in 323, his empire crumbled and Egypt was appropriated by one of his generals, whose name was Ptolemy. He and his

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[1] *REG* 19 (1917) 32. The translation is mine.

[2] A repertory of the formulae used to express these ideas is given by E. Majer-Leonhard, *ΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΙ* (Frankfurt 1913) 69–73. Cf. R. Calderini, "Gli ἀγράμματοι nell' Egitto greco-romano", *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 17ff.

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descendants ruled Egypt until 30 B.C., when the country was incorporated into the Roman empire by Octavian.

The Ptolemies, whose language was Greek, established it as the official language of the country. The Egyptians, who continued to use their own language in private affairs, had nevertheless to make an accommodation in their dealings with the Greek bureaucracy. They were, for example, permitted to draw up contracts in Egyptian, but disputes arising out of such agreements could be tried only before a specifically Egyptian court. They could come before a Greek court only if a Greek translation of the document were provided.[3] And all business that Egyptians might have with official bureaus had to be initiated and maintained with Greek documents.

The Roman conquest brought very little change in this respect. Demotic documents continued to be written, but now Greek subscriptions were appended in which the parties repeated the substance of the obligations they had undertaken. Latin was of course the language used in the army and in official correspondence at the highest levels of administration, in occasional letters exchanged between Roman soldiers, and in legal forms used by Roman citizens. On the other hand, communications addressed by Roman officialdom to the people of Egypt were always in Greek, which also remained the language of the bureaucratic network which linked the country to Alexandria. Petitions, declarations, complaints, land registers, tax registers, tax receipts, contracts, judicial proceedings — all these continued to be composed in Greek. In effect, Greek retained throughout the country the position it had held under the Ptolemies.

In these circumstances, the practical values inherent in a knowledge of Greek in all three aspects — speaking, reading, and writing — were of course incalculable. But when the Greek papyri describe people as literate or illiterate, they envisage only the ability to write Greek. The exact definition of the terms used in the papyri is limited to a single accomplishment. Those who are literate are able to write Greek, those who are illiterate are not able to write Greek. These labels take no account of any similar accomplishment in Egyptian, and in fact such an extension of cultural awareness would have been typically un-Greek.

It may be worth a few moments of our time to show that this narrow definition of the terms is the true one. There is a document written in the reign of Claudius in Egyptian demotic which records the sale of a house by a certain Stotoetis to his brother Apynchis. Neither brother

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[3] Cf. U. Wilcken, *UPZ* I 602.

was able to write Greek, but since a Greek subscription was needed, one was written for the seller, Stotoetis, by a man named Herieus, who states that he wrote the subscription because Stotoetis was illiterate. This means only that he did not write Greek. It is likely that Stotoetis could have written his own subscription in Egyptian if this had been permissible, because once the requirement of a Greek subscription had been discharged, his brother, Apynchis, comfortably wrote his own subscription in Egyptian.[4]

In another demotic sale of a house written in A.D. 55, a Greek subscription was written for the seller, who was said to be illiterate in Greek but able to write Egyptian. Here the phrase "Greek letters" — γράμματα Ἑλληνικά — was written in full in order to make an effective antithesis with Αἰγύπτια. After the subscription written for him in Greek, the seller added a few words of his own in Egyptian.[5] He was illiterate in Greek, certainly, but not in his own language.

Equally instructive is a document from a much later period, the time of the persecution of the Christians under Diocletian. The emperor's first anti-Christian edict of February 303 ordered the total destruction of churches. In a declaration dated February 304, Aurelius Ammonius, lector (ἀναγνώστης) of a village church, now abandoned, states under oath that the church contains nothing of value. At the end of the declaration a second hand wrote the following: "I, Aurelius Ammonius, swore the oath as aforesaid. I, Aurelius Serenus, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters." We may experience a moment's shock that the former lector of a church is said to be illiterate. But of course this means only that Ammonius did not write Greek. He doubtless served an Egyptian, that is a Coptic, community and was quite sufficiently conversant with the Coptic scriptures to serve as lector or reader.[6]

It would be convenient and comforting at this point if I could supply

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[4] *PRylDem* 45 (vol. 3, p. 173; A.D. 42). In A.D. 40 the brothers leased an oil press (*CPR* 242 = *Berichtigungsl.* I, p. 123). The agreement was written in Greek, and a subscription written for them was also in Greek.

[5] *Sammelbuch* I 5117. Cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* 2 (1903) 145.

[6] *POxy* XXXIII 2673. See the editor's comment on line 34. *PTebt* II 383 (A.D. 46) appears to contradict the usual interpretation. A Greek subscription (lines 57f) was written for a woman and her husband, for the husband because he "writes Egyptian," for the wife because she "does not know letters." The writer seems to say that the husband is literate in Egyptian but not in Greek, the wife is literate in neither language. The impression, however, is only the consequence of an awkward style. The writer is relying on the stereotyped use of the phrase to convey the meaning: she does not write Greek. It was probably true that she was also illiterate in Egyptian, but this could have no interest for the writer.

statistical information on literacy and illiteracy in Egypt under Ptole-
maic and Roman rule. Unfortunately for our studies, ancient govern-
ments had only a limited appreciation of the political and economic
values to be derived from the numbering and classification of popula-
tions. Probably more was done in Roman Egypt in this respect than in
other parts of the Empire, but neither there nor anywhere else in the
ancient world did literacy ever take on the character of a problem which
needed to be documented. The moment at which literacy would emerge
as an instrument of political, social, and technological action was still
far in the future.

We do not have even a reliable figure for the total population of Egypt
at some definite time. Diodorus Siculus (1.31) puts it at three million,
Josephus (*BJ* 2.385) at $7\frac{1}{2}$ million apart from Alexandria.[7] For the
nomes, cities, and villages we have only modern estimates, perhaps
roughly reliable but not available for statistical operations.[8] Our situa-
tion is further complicated by the more or less accidental nature of
papyrus finds and their totally uneven spread in time and space. The
upshot is that they cannot be used to obtain percentages of those literate
in Greek only, in Egyptian only, or in both, and certainly not of the
great mass of illiterates, unable to write either language.[9]

The difficulties that confront a statistical investigation of literacy in
ancient Egypt are at this time insuperable. There are the considerations
already mentioned, that we have no population statistics which can be
made pertinent to the numbers of literate and illiterate persons derived
from the papyri, and that the documents only rarely identify persons
who are literate in Egyptian even though they are unable to write Greek.
Many Egyptian priests fell into this class, others were literate in both
languages.[10] On the other hand, there were elements of the rural popu-

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[7] Cf. A. H. M. Jones, *Ancient Economic History* (Inaugural Lecture, London
1948) 1–10. For a probable correction of Diodorus' text fixing the number at
seven million, see U. Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka* I (1899) 489f. Wilcken's correc-
tion was adopted by C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily* (Loeb) I 103f. For simi-
lar difficulties with respect to the population of the Roman Empire and of its
capital Rome, see A. E. R. Boak, *Manpower Shortage and the Fall of the Roman
Empire in the West* (Ann Arbor 1955) 4–6.

[8] E.g., J. Bingen, *Chronique d'Égypte* 41 (1946) 147f; A. E. R. Boak, *Historia*
4 (1955) 157–162; 8 (1959) 248–250; H. Braunert, *Die Binnenwanderung* (Bonn.
Hist. Forsch. 26, 1964) 19 (with n. 20); 91 n. 67.

[9] There have been two attempts to extract this kind of information from the
papyrus texts (see n. 2). The results obtained have no discernible value for the
establishment of percentages. Cf. the illuminating remarks of E. G. Turner,
Greek Papyri: An Introduction (Princeton 1968) 43–47.

[10] W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenist. Ägypten* 2 (1908) 209–238.

lation more or less remote from the large centers whose contact with Greeks and Romans was minimal, whose names might appear in tax receipts and tax registers but nowhere else. Many might have a few broken words of Greek, some might be able to write their names in Egyptian, most of them were probably illiterate in both languages.

The professional scribes create a major problem in any attempt to fix the number of persons literate in Greek. Typical of Egypt from time immemorial, they were a numerous and active class. They were to be found wherever there was a demand for writing. They were employed as secretaries and copyists in all official bureaus, where they were also available to the public for the preparation of petitions and declarations. They were the indispensable personnel of the record offices, where they wrote out contracts and other legal papers for any who were willing to pay. They could be found in the bazaars and on the street corners, ready to serve people who needed to have letters written. It is therefore often difficult and more often impossible to know who wrote a given document — the person whose interests it served or some anonymous scribe.

We have no way of identifying all the men and women who could and did write Greek or Egyptian or both, at least in some degree, nor all those who wrote neither. And since the papyri come to us only in odd lots, they do not lend themselves to the composition of a random sample that could substitute for a view of the whole. We must in last resort search elsewhere for the significance to us of the numerous mentions of illiteracy in the papyri.

There are fortunately less obvious ways of looking at parts of this problem, and we shall now venture on those. Take for example the legal requirement that a woman must act with a male adviser called a *kyrios*, whom we usually describe in English as a guardian, whenever she has business that necessitates drawing up contracts.[11] The Egyptian woman had had no such restriction placed on her activity before the advent of the Greeks, but the new masters, first the Greeks, later the Romans, had other ideas. Behind the requirement lay the supposition that a woman's knowledge and experience would not be sufficient to protect her against deception. It was the function of the guardian to look after her interests. Generally she would be assisted in this way by her father if she were still unmarried, or if he were not available, by a brother or some other close male relative. A married woman would normally have her husband present in this capacity. If the business to be arranged happened to involve her husband as the second party to the contract and no other

[11] Cf. R. Taubenschlag, *La compétence du κύριος dans le droit gréco-égyptien* (*Opera Minora* II [Warsaw 1959] 353–377; with numerous examples).

relative were conveniently at hand to serve as guardian, she might appeal to the governor of the district to appoint someone outside the family to act with her for this one piece of business.[12]

Since the *kyrios* was in fact the guardian of the woman's interests when a written agreement had to be prepared, we might reasonably expect that he would be literate and so able to assure his principal that the contract corresponded to her wishes. This expectation is fulfilled in many cases, but equally often the *kyrios* does not know how to write. When women are illiterate, the guardians are sometimes literate,[13] sometimes not.[14] And no difference is to be observed when the women are themselves literate.[15] There were also occasional circumstances in which a woman was permitted to act without a male adviser, although often we do not know why these exceptions were made. Some of these women are literate, others are not.[16] All these situations are relatively common in the papyri,[17] and they mark out no special role for literacy. If they suggest any attitude at all, it would be one of casual indifference.

There was one situation in which a woman could act permanently without a male guardian. A Roman statute known as the *lex Iulia et Papia Poppaea* established for women the so-called *ius trium liberorum*. Under this statute a Roman woman who was the mother of three children was enabled to conduct legal business without a guardian. We have a text written in A.D. 263 by a woman named Aurelia Thaisous, who bears also the alternative name Lolliane.[18] She is petitioning the prefect of Egypt for the benefits of the *ius trium liberorum* and describes the pertinent legislation as enabling women who enjoy the right conferred by the possession of three children to be their own masters, and to act without a guardian in all business which they transact. She concludes this summary of the law with a surprising addition: "and especially those women who know how to write." She continues: "Accordingly I, too, fortunately possessing the honor of being blessed with children, and as a literate person able to write with the greatest of ease, in the fullness of my security appeal to your highness, etc." She of course writes her own subscription at the end of the petition.

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[12] R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt* (2nd ed., Warsaw 1955) 171, 173f. Cf. *PTebt* II 397.25f.

[13] *PMich* V 258.13–17.

[14] *PMich* V 257.9f.

[15] *POxy* I 56.31f; XII 1463.16–21.

[16] *POxy* I 86.24–26, 102.24f. Full lists are provided by Taubenschlag (above, n. 11), who believed that in such cases the woman had an option.

[17] Cf. R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 31f.

[18] *POxy* XII 1467.

In spite of the enthusiasm that Thaisous displays for the advantages bestowed on women by literate accomplishments, she is perhaps guilty of exaggeration. Elsewhere we find women in full possession of the *ius trium liberorum*, hence doing legal business without a guardian, but still totally unable to write. In a text dated to A.D. 215,[19] a woman named Aurelia Artemeis plans to sell a young slave. She is described as acting without a guardian by virtue of the *ius trium liberorum*. She is nevertheless illiterate, and her brother-in-law writes a subscription for her. The editors of this papyrus, having in mind Thaisous also called Lolliane, whom we have just met, make the following comment: "The fact that Aurelia Artemeis, though acting without a *kyrios* . . ., was unable to write is noticeable in view of the importance elsewhere attached to a knowledge of writing as a condition for dispensing with a *kyrios* . . ." In another place they express themselves with more reserve: "That a knowledge of writing was also generally required, though not an absolutely necessary condition . . ., is new and interesting. Neither Roman nor Graeco-Egyptian law was known to have laid stress on this condition in connexion with the independence of women . . ."[20]

It is likely that the editors were misled by the exuberance which marks the Greek language as used by Thaisous. When the warmth that she displays for her own cause is somewhat cooled by analysis, she is seen to be saying precisely what the editors put into their translation of the document, and nothing more: "especially those women who know how to write." "Especially" is the key word. The basic requirement for obtaining the grant is the same for all: a Roman woman must be the mother of at least three children. Thaisous urges that a woman with three children who also writes Greek fluently deserves special consideration. And it must be admitted that in doing so she may have known exactly what she was about. In A.D. 348 a woman named Aurelia Charite of Hermopolis wrote out a receipt for rent paid to her by a soldier who had taken land of hers in lease. She carefully described herself as "knowing letters and acting without a guardian by virtue of the *ius trium liberorum*."[21]

But Aurelia Artemeis is only one example of an illiterate woman who was granted the *ius trium liberorum*. In A.D. 249, Meithous, daughter of Apion, was a party to a sale of a half-share of a house in Oxyrhynchus. She acted without a *kyrios* because she possessed the *ius trium liberorum*. Because she was illiterate, a certain Dioscorus wrote a subscription for

[19] *POxy* XII 1463.
[20] *POxy* XII 1467 introd.
[21] *StudPal* XX 98.

her.[22] In the year 255, Aurelia Sarapias sold a dining-couch with linen covers and four cushions at a price of 500 drachmas. She also had no *kyrios*, and for the same reason. She also was illiterate, and her son wrote the subscription for her.[23]

We know that the petition submitted by Thaisous also called Lolliane was granted, and four years later we find her buying a piece of land in the Oxyrhynchite nome without the intervention of a *kyrios*.[24] Her ability to write with ease, as she says in her application for the *ius trium liberorum*, and her persuasive style may have served as additional inducements to the prefect to make the grant, but as we must acknowledge when we review the list of women who enjoyed this privilege, the basis of the grant was not her literacy, but what she had in common with those who were not literate: they were all mothers of three children.[25]

It will be worthwhile to look briefly at one other legal category. When minor children were left orphaned, and without close relatives, the cities appointed guardians (ἐπίτροποι) to supervise their affairs.[26] Sometimes considerable property was involved, and one would imagine that the ability to read and write would be indispensable to a man placed in this position. The ancient practice does not fully coincide with this expectation, however reasonable it may seem to be. A text of the second century A.D. associates literate and illiterate guardians in the affairs of a single family. Four children of a certain Theon had inherited a slave from their father. The eldest child, Diogenes, who had attained his majority, held a third share, but he renounced his claim. According to the text, he emancipated his third of the slave. The other two-thirds remained the property of two sisters and a brother, all of them under age. Three men who serve as their guardians now apply to a gymnasiarch of the city to grant an auction of the share held by their wards. Of the guardians, two are literate and write their own subscriptions: the third, himself a freedman, is illiterate, and his subscription is written for him by Diogenes, the eldest of the four children.[27]

We have now run through a number of significant legal situations involving women and children in which the modern feeling would place

[22] *POxy* X 1276.24–28. For a complete list of such women, both literate and illiterate, see P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) 180–187.

[23] *POxy* X 1277.22–28.

[24] *POxy* XII 1475.

[25] On the literate woman and the *ius trium liberorum* see S. Solazzi, *Rend. Ist. Lomb.*, ser 2, 51 (1918) 586–597. For a brief account of scholarly opinion on this point and some excellent remarks of his own, see Sijpesteijn (above, n. 22) 175f.

[26] R. Taubenschlag, *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt* (2nd ed., Warsaw 1955) 157ff. Cf. *POxy* VI 888 introd. and n. to line 3.

[27] *POxy* IV 716 (A.D. 186).

considerable emphasis on literacy. It has become clear that the ancients had no such feeling. Persons chosen for the important task of guarding the interests of legal dependents might or might not be literate. This was not the rule by which they were judged or appointed. As we have seen, a woman who was herself able to write was sometimes served by a *kyrios* who did not write. Or they might both be illiterate and use others to write for them. A woman could obtain the *ius trium liberorum* whether she was or was not literate. Nor was it obligatory that the guardian of an orphaned minor be able to read or write. We must look elsewhere for the criterion of selection, since it certainly was not literacy.

I have already several times given a partial answer to this question. What the relation of a woman to her *kyrios* is expected to be is clearly indicated in the statutory succession of guardians. Under this arrangement, the guardian of a married woman is, according to circumstances, her husband, son, father, grandfather, or brother.[28] In other words, a woman's natural guardians are those who have most reason to desire her welfare. When these were not available and she applied for the appointment of someone outside the family, we may assume that this traditional motivation remained uppermost in the official mind. Experience in business affairs might be given consideration,[29] but the question of literacy did not even arise; a large corps of professional scribes stood ready to perform what writing services were needed.

It has been said that the Egyptians had a passion for documenting in written form every arrangement that human beings might make among themselves. This was doubtless true, but it was a primitive passion which rested on a mystical veneration of the written word. Speech was evanescent, intentions were ephemeral, but the written word endured and had power. In Egypt this faith was as old as it was primitive,[30] but paradoxically it flourished among a people for whom reading and writing were, in practice, no more than convenient accomplishments, if you happened to have them, but not accomplishments necessary to a good life. They were the special equipment of scribes, a trade much like other trades, even if highly respected and well remunerated. Sociologically speaking, scribes were indispensable, literacy was not.[31]

[28] Cf. Taubenschlag, *Law*², 171, with nn. 6 and 7.

[29] Cf. Solazzi (above, n. 25) 592f.

[30] Cf. F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet im Mystik und Magie* (*ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ* 7, 1922) 3: "Jede Hieroglyphe ist für den Ägypter ein Gotteswort."

[31] Pertinent are H. Marrou's remarks on the low status of the elementary teacher in Hellenistic times (*Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* [6th ed., Paris 1965] 225): "L'essentiel de l'éducation, c'est la formation morale, celle du caractère, du style de vie. Le 'maître' n'est chargé que d'apprendre à lire, ce qui est beaucoup moins important."

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We are fortunately able to submit this conclusion to a test. In a society like our own which emphasizes literacy, illiteracy is a source of embarrassment. This is particularly true within families, which experience great agitation when a child is slow to learn to read. The papyrus texts are entirely free of any comparable disturbance. Of many hundreds of private letters not one reveals the least trace of uneasiness on this score. Not one father is found lamenting: "My son is not learning to read. I must look for another teacher." (I do not speak at all of the large number of letters that were written by scribes, relatives or friends for illiterate correspondents, without a visible trace of embarrassment on either side.)

The writers and signers of contracts also remain perfectly calm. We may leave aside all those women whose subscriptions were written by male relatives or friends, because no ancient could possibly have been shocked by a woman who was unable to write. Illiteracy in women was traditional at all levels of society, and therefore acceptable. But the same sense of indifference flows out from the agreements in which men only are concerned. Here are a few examples from the first four centuries of our era.

(1) In A.D. 303 Aurelius Patermouthis acknowledges to Aurelius Apollonius receipt of payment in advance of delivery for 5 minae of tow. Patermouthis is illiterate. His brother Aurelius Ammon writes the subscription on his behalf.[32]

(2) In the first century the brothers Polemis and Petesouchos, together with their nieces Aresis and Thenapollos, the latter acting with *kyrioi* who are kinsmen, acknowledge that they have sold their shares of vacant lots in Tebtunis. Since Polemis and Petesouchos are illiterate, a third brother named Phemnasis writes for them both. One of the two *kyrioi* writes for the women and for the other *kyrios* since all three are illiterate.[33]

(3) In the reign of Commodus the brothers Theon and Petaus acknowledge to Heron that they have received from him a loan of 100 drachmas at the usual rate of interest. Theon writes for himself and for his brother Petaus. We are not told in so many words that Petaus is illiterate, but I shall shortly provide evidence of his inability to write Greek.[34]

Nothing could be more amicable, more pacific than these utterly neutral accounts of business arrangements in which literate members of a family wrote for members who were not literate. We are all aware that behind documentary formalities often lurk not merely embarrassment,

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[32] *PMed* I 52, col. 1, 18–24.
[33] *PMich* V 282.
[34] *PPetaus* 31.13f. Cf. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 30f.

but despair, misery, and disaster. On the point of literacy, however, we are not likely to be misled. The instances of cooperation between relatives or friends, those who do not write calling for help on those who do write, are too numerous to leave even a margin of doubt.

The last example which I cited of such cooperation, P. Petaus 31, has a special interest because it invites us to extend our survey into official circles. In this document we see Theon acting as a writer for himself and his brother Petaus. It is the same Petaus who, from A.D. 184 to 187, was town clerk (κωμογραμματεύς) of an area comprising at least five villages including Ptolemais Hormu, where Nile boats entered the Fayum from the south. No one had previously suspected that town clerks might be illiterate. As representatives in the villages of the Roman government in Alexandria, they were the broad base on which the Roman administration in Egypt rested. Their responsibilities were not light. Petaus's record-keeping functions alone kept a number of professional scribes busy throughout the year. Eleven hands can be distinguished in the few official papers that we have. And Petaus, illiterate as he is, also writes in these documents a total of seven times. He signs nominations to liturgies, four times with the standard formula: Πεταῦς κωμογρα(μματεὺς) ἐπιδέδωκα, three times with the same basic formula but minus the title. In order to be able to do this, he practiced his signature from time to time, always in the form I have indicated. We have one of his practice sheets. He traced the formula twelve times in a most awkward hand. At line 5 he made a mistake, omitting the first letter of the verb. From there to the end of his exercise he invariably omitted the letter. On the verso of the sheet he wrote the sentence twice from memory, and he made an incredible botch of it. No description would do it justice.[35]

Petaus was not the only town clerk who could not write. Among his papers is a complaint sent to him for verification from the office of the strategos.[36] As Petaus had come from Karanis in the north of the Fayum to serve at Ptolemais Hormu in the south, so a certain Ischyrion had gone from Ptolemais Hormu to be town clerk at Tamauis, a village not far from Karanis. He was denounced, perhaps by a professional informer, perhaps by a villager who found him intractable, as a man burdened with debt, unable to meet the property requirement for the office, and illiterate. The complaint was duly investigated by Petaus, and in commenting on the charge that Ischyrion was illiterate Petaus adopts

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[35] *PPetaus* 121. Cf. my Brussels lecture: "Pétaus, fils de Pétaus, ou le scribe qui ne savait pas écrire," *Chr. d'Eg.* 81 (1966) 127–143.

[36] *PPetaus* 11.

a conciliatory tone: Ischyrion is indeed "illiterate, but he signs all the township papers which he submits to the strategos and others." In effect, Petaus and Ischyrion are in precisely the same position — both of them town clerks, both of them illiterate, both of them masters of a single short sentence which they laboriously pen at the bottom of documents.[37] It is a fair inference that they were not alone among officials at their level in being unable to write. In the ceaseless administrative struggle to obtain men both propertied and literate, the less significant of these qualifications had doubtless often to give way. When this happened, the social climate of Egypt must have provided a ready apology: If the man couldn't write, he could always pay to have the writing done.

Such an arrangement must often have been made privately, and if an appointee protested his incapacity to keep records, an official compromise might be obtained, as happened in the case of another Ischyrion in the early third century. Four phylarchs of a city of which the name has been lost nominated him to be collector of grain taxes, but when it was shown that he was illiterate, he was permitted to contribute 1,000 drachmas as wages for a substitute chosen by the phylarchs.[38] This procedure did not appear to penalize the illiterate because appointees to similar offices were free to hire secretaries, who in effect served as substitutes, even when the question of literacy was not raised. In a still unpublished Michigan papyrus of about the same date two residents of Oxyrhynchus, Aurelius Sarapammon and Aurelius Cornelius, who have received as a liturgy the direction of a public granary in the village of Phthochis, hire a third resident of Oxyrhynchus to act as their secretary. The list of duties makes it clear that he alone will go to the village and be in charge of the granary. Sarapammon and Cornelius are represented in this contract by their surety, Aurelius Satornilus, and it is he who writes the subscription in their names. They are not said to be illiterate.[39]

At the village level appointees to the numerous liturgies which had to be filled were frequently people with no schooling at all. As one example out of many, we may take Aurelius Isidorus, a farmer of Karanis in the late third and early fourth century. In the course of twenty years Isidorus was assigned to local liturgies not fewer than ten times. He was several times a collector of taxes, twice he supervised the operations

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[37] They were not trying to avoid the "stigma" of illiteracy (E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 83). They were simply straining to perform the one indispensable act of literacy required of them.

[38] *Sammelbuch* IV 7375 (reign of Alexander Severus); cf. Wilcken, *Archiv* 9 (1930) 244.

[39] *PMich* inv. 259; to be published by Dr. John Shelton in *PMich* XI.

of a state granary, and once he functioned as komarch. All of these were seriously responsible jobs, and he survived them without disaster. He put in twenty years of public service without writing a word.[40]

I have said more than enough about a large number of very ordinary people who moved in a society for which the term "restricted literacy" might have been coined.[41] They are a mixed group of considerable size, composed of illiterate persons who are in constant close contact with others who are literate, either members of their own families or friends. If illiterate, they are indifferent to their own lack of even elementary attainments in Greek; if literate, they are easily tolerant of their absence in others. Their social equality is evident, and the implication is clear. These are families which gave their children either no education, certainly no Greek education, or very little — the two, three, or four years which might be thought necessary to learn to read and write. The brighter children did learn and retained this accomplishment into mature years. Some who were less apt or less interested learned enough to figure in the documents as "slow" writers,[42] others who found no subsequent use for the small acquisition made in childhood simply forgot how to read and write.

The people who are described as "not knowing letters" are in general tradesmen, craftsmen, rivermen, village officials, and soldiers. Those who write for them, apart from relatives and friends, are mainly professional scribes, secretaries of farmers' and artisans' guilds, clerks and assistants in government offices. The unlettered, who do not write Greek, tend to appear in the contracts as lessees rather than lessors, as borrowers rather than lenders. In short, they and their lettered friends are for the most part members of the lower middle class.[43]

These are partly the descendants of Greeks who had become quickly assimilated to their new environment, partly Egyptians who were so superficially hellenized, a large majority of them remaining at all periods Egyptian speakers, that they never functioned as carriers of Greek

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[40] *PCairIsidor* pp. 11–17. Cf. N. Lewis, *Inventory of Compulsory Services* (Toronto 1968), where literacy appears as a requirement only twice, s.vv. λογογραφία, πρακτορεία.

[41] Cf. J. R. Goody (ed.), *Literacy in Traditional Societies* (Cambridge 1968), Introduction, 11ff.

[42] On the "slow" writers see R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 34–36. C. M. Cipolla, *Literacy and Development in the West* (Penguin Books 1969) 35, cites a report on Turin in the late 1870s: "After a few years many pupils are no longer able to read a document or even to write their name intelligibly."

[43] Cf. R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 30 (1950) 25.

civilization. These are the people who filled Théodore Reinach with dismay, and more recently a distinguished English papyrologist hoped that the truth that he had seen might not be true: "Are we to accept the depressing conclusion that the ordinary man cared little for literature, even if he could read it?"[44] I fear that we must accept that conclusion. The ordinary man had small capacity, as he had little desire, for reading of this kind, and probably of any kind. A certain number of ostraca covered with childish exercises, the so-called school texts, may have come from his hand. With the heritage of Greek literature he would have at most only indirect contacts. He might on occasion listen to a public recitation by traveling actors, he might sometimes witness a play in the city theater. What he had grown up with, what had formed his taste, were the dancers and flutists, pantomimists and acrobats who were hired to entertain the villagers on festival days.[45]

This partial survey of illiteracy in Greco-Roman Egypt would be seriously misleading if the impression were created that the upper stretches of the Greek middle class, the Greeks whose cultural center was the gymnasium, with its athletic programs, its poetic and musical contests, the training ground of nome governors and royal secretaries, were by contrast with their less fortunate compatriots all equally bearers and continuators of the Greek tradition. Not all the Greeks who frequented the gymnasium were of sufficient economic strength to support a lengthy education for their children or to stock a library. At the lower levels of prosperity, members of the gymnasium class must have been often indistinguishable from their counterparts in the villages.

There were found at Tebtunis the remains of an official file compiled in A.D. 99. It once consisted of numerous declarations made by young Greeks who had been enrolled as ephebes at Alexandria sixteen years before.[46] Three of these were published in the second volume of Tebtunis Papyri. One was submitted by two brothers, Demetrius and Heliodorus, twenty-three years of age and nineteen respectively, scribes by trade. The declaration itself was written by the elder brother, the subscription by the younger. The second declaration was written throughout and submitted by Sarapion, thirty years old, whose specialty

[44] E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*, 78.
[45] W. L. Westermann, *JEA* 18 (1932) 16–27; M. Vandoni, *Feste pubbliche e private nei documenti greci* (Milan 1964), nos. 14–28; *PAlex* 6 = *PAlexGiss* 3; *PMed* I 47 (cf. J. Bingen, *Chr. d'Eg.* 83 [1967] 225; D. Hagedorn, *Gnomon* 40 [1968] 780).
[46] *PTebt* II 316 = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 148. Cf. Cf. W. Schubart, *Gnomon* 1 (1925) 29f.

was gold inlay.[47] The same Sarapion wrote the third declaration for a friend who was a "slow" writer. The friend was Ammonius, a river fisherman, twenty-eight years old, who wrote his own subscription at the bottom. His age and occupation show that his writing deficiency could not have been caused by physical or mental impediments.[48]

This is a valuable text, because it proves that men of the gymnasium class were expected to be literate.[49] Ammonius had certainly been taught to read and write, but seems to have come away with hardly more than the minimum. It is a good guess that he was in fact barely literate. But the signature is his own, and that was doubtless enough to allow him to remain in his class.[50] He is a fisherman, and his obliging friend is an artisan. Their relationship is doubtless not different from that which links the writing and nonwriting friends without gymnasium connections whom we have previously met.

On the other hand, the Tebtunis papyrus also strongly suggests that the numerous and important body of Greek scribes were, if I am permitted the word, a spinoff from the gymnasium. Demetrius and Heliodorus, both quite young, are already engaged in this trade. It was obviously an ideal start in life for literate young men whose families had no great means. Since the Egyptian system could not function without the technological equipment possessed by the scribes, the least they could expect was a competence through their active years and an untroubled retirement in old age.[51] They were the bulwark of administra-

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[47] Following Schubart, *BL* II 170.

[48] So also, from another point of view, Wilcken, *Chrest.* 148, note to line 101.

[49] Cf. *PSI* VI 716 (A.D. 306?). If the editors are right in their note to line 8, illiteracy and service in the βουλή were thought to be incompatible. This is indeed the impression given by the inadequate remnants of the text. The supposedly illiterate βουλευτής and πρύτανις of *PFlor* I 63 has been eliminated by Wilcken's correction of line 9 (*Archiv* 4 [1908] 448f). It is in any case surprising that a βουλευτής and a former ἀγορανόμος, who issued a receipt as ἐπιμεληταὶ κριθῆς in A.D. 308 (*PThead* 32), had it written for them because they were illiterate.

[50] The neglect of literary studies in the Egyptian gymnasium is not in doubt. These were the domain almost exclusively of private teachers. Cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Die hellenistische Schule* (Munich 1955) 95.

[51] Confidence in the scribe's career is expressed frequently in Egypt before Hellenistic times. The scribe became a traditional figure of success and security. See A. Erman, *Die Literatur der Aegypter* (Leipzig 1923) 100–105, 242–252; cf. his *Aegypten* (Tübingen 1922) 374–377, 448, and *Die Welt am Nil* (Leipzig 1936) 188–191; A. H. Gardiner, in S. R. K. Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt* (Oxford 1942) 71.

tion in a basically oriental society which had long since come to terms
with its illiterate population.[52]

University of Michigan

[52] Some of them possessed a most impressive literary culture. Cf. my art.
"Callimachus in the Tax Rolls," to be published in the *Acts of the 12th Congress
of Papyrology.*

LATE ROMAN PAPYRI
FROM THE MICHIGAN COLLECTION

GERALD M. BROWNE

SIX documentary papyri from the collection of the University of
Michigan are here published for the first time. They were all written
in the late third or early fourth century of our era and come from various
parts of the Fayum. Numbers 1, 3, and 4 were purchased in Egypt by
B. P. Grenfell and F. W. Kelsey in 1920, nos. 2 and 5 were acquired by
the University from M. Nahman in 1923–1924, and no. 6 was discovered
during the 1933 excavations at Karanis.

I am indebted for assistance at various points to Professors W. M.
Calder III, N. Lewis, O. M. Pearl, and H. C. Youtie, and to Dr. P. J.
Sijpesteijn. Their specific contributions have been noted in the appro-
priate places. I should also like to thank Professor Youtie for permission
to publish these texts.

No. 1

REQUEST FOR PARATHESIS

Inv. 197   19.8 × 19.3 cm.   5 April A.D. 298

The sheet has been damaged along several vertical folds, and its
surface is abraded in many places, especially toward the right. The body
of the text is written in a clear semi-uncial, while the first and last lines
are composed in a highly stylized cursive which is identical with the
fourth hand of *PWisconsin* inv. 66a ined. (see E. Boswinkel and P. J.
Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri* [Amsterdam 1968], plate 32).

Dr. Sijpesteijn has kindly sent me his transcript of *PWisc* inv. 66a,
as well as inv. 66b. Both papyri, which will be published in *PWisconsin*
II, are copies of a contract of sale, in which Aurelius Titus Valerius
Gaeanus conveys to Aurelia Tapais a building containing a mill. The
contract was drawn up in Arsinoe on 10 Pharmouthi (= 5 April)
A.D. 298.

The present Michigan papyrus records a later stage in the same trans-
action. It is a request submitted by Aurelia Tapais to the βιβλιοθήκη
ἐγκτήσεων of the Arsinoite nome. She informs the office of her purchase

from Aurelius Titus Valerius Gaeanus. Because the latter is not registered in the βιβλιοθήκη (see line 11), the sale cannot be booked definitively. Accordingly Aurelia Tapais requests that a provisional registration (παράθεσις) be entered to ensure the priority of her claim. As evidence of the transaction, she includes a copy of the contract of sale, probably *PWisc* inv. 66a, since its docket is in the same hand as lines 1 and 17 of the present text (see above). Another example of an application for parathesis accompanied by a contract of sale is provided by *PHamb* 15 and 16; for the procedure, see R. H. Pierce, *Symb. Osl.* 43 (1968) 73; J. C. Naber, *Mnemosyne* 55 (1927) 212–220.

For a recent discussion of the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων, including the question of provisional and definitive registration, see E. Kiessling, *JJP* 15 (1965) 73–90. *BGU* XI 2031 is a recent edition of a request for parathesis with a good bibliography and list of similar texts.[1]

> Ἀ[ὐρη]λ(ίῳ) Ὠρίωνι βουλ(ευτῇ) βιβλ(ιοφύλακι) ἐγκτήσ(εων)
>   Ἀ[ρσ]ινοίτου
> (2nd hd.) π[αρὰ Ἀ]ὐρηλίας Ταπάιτος Παπνούθ[ιος] μητρὸς
>   Θαισᾶτ[ος ἀπὸ]
> [κώμης Φι]λαδελφίας τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερ[ί]δος χωρὶς κυρί[ου
>   χρη(ματίζουσα)]
> κ[ατὰ τὰ Ῥ]ωμαίων ἔθη τέκνων δι[κ]αίῳ. ἠγόρασα .[± 6]
> 5   .[± 4]..ν γεγονότος ἐνθάδε ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ τῇ ἐν[εσ]τ ᾽[σ]η

[1] To this list should be added *PAlex* 266 (p. 36). This text, which is not published in full, is nine lines in length. Only lines 3–8 are transcribed in the edition:

>   ]των βιβλι[ο]φυλάκων διο[
>   ]παραθε[   ].ενεσθαι α.[
> 5]κράφω[τ]ὸν χρηματισμὸ[ν
>   ]ν ἀπογρ[α]φὴν αὐτοῦ ποιω[
>   ].νκ[   ]ον εἰ δὲ φει....[
>   ]...[   ]α τοῦ βιβλιοφ[ύλακος?

This is obviously a fragment of a parathesis request, for which I suggest the following restoration:

> [διὰ] τῶν βιβλι[ο]φυλάκων. διὸ [ἐπιδίδωμι] ᾽
> [εἰς τὸ τὴν] παράθε[σιν] γενέσθαι ἀκ[ολούθως]
> 5 [τῷ ἀντι]γράφῳ[τ]οῦ χρηματισμο[ῦ. ὁπόταν]
> [γὰρ τὴ]ν ἀπογρ[α]φὴν αὐτοῦ ποιῶ[μαι, ἀποδεί–]
> [ξω ὡς ἔστ]ιν κ[αθαρ]όν. εἰ δὲ φανείη [ἑτέρῳ]
> [προσῆ]κον [δι]ὰ τοῦ βιβλιοφ[υλακίου

It will be necessary to check the original for the reading of the doubtful letters and for the precise distribution of the words over the lines. In lines 4–5, 6–7, and 7–8 the customary formulas have had to be shortened to fit the space.

PMich inv. 197

ἡ[μέρα] ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ κώμῃ Φιλαδελφίᾳ οἰκίδιον μο[ν]όστεγον
[μετὰ το]ῦ ἐνόντος μυλαίου ἐν ᾧ ὕπαυλις καταπεπ[τω]κυῖα
[τιμῆς] ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν τρισχιλίων γί(νονται) [(δρ.)] τρι[σχ]ίλιαι
παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Τίτου Οὐαλερίου Γαιανοῦ Τίτου Οὐαλερί[ου]
    Σατριανοῦ

10 τοῦ καὶ Σερήνου μητρὸς Ἰουλίας Ἀντινοέους καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζει)
μὴ ἀπογεγραμμένου. διὸ ἐπιδίδωμει εἰς τὸ τὴν παρά[θεσιν]
γενέσθαι ἀκολούθως ᾧ παρεθέμην εἴσω τοῦ χ[ρη]ματισ-
μοῦ τῆς πράσεως. ὁπόταν γὰρ τὴν ἀπογραφὴν αὐτ[οῦ] ποιῶ(μαι),
ἀποδίξω ὡς ὑπάρχει καί ἐστι καθαρὸν μηδενὶ κρατούμεν[ον],
15 εἰ δὲ φανίη ἑτέρῳ προσήκῳ ἢ προκατεσχημένον τὸ οἰκίδιον
διὰ τοῦ βιβλιοφυλακίου, μὴ ἔσ{σ}εσθαι ἐμπόδιον ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς
παραθέσεως. (1st hd.) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ὡρίων βουλ(ευτὴς) βιβλ(ιο-
φύλαξ) ἐγκτήσ(εων) Ἀρσι(νοίτου) ±7

2 θαϊσατ[Pap. (read by O. M. Pearl)   5 αρσινοϊτη Pap.   7 ϋπαυλις
Pap.   8 δραχμῶν: ων corrected from ας   9 γαϊανου Pap.   10
ϊουλιας Pap.   Ἀντινοέως   11 ἐπιδίδωμι   12 ἴσῳ   14 ἀποδείξω
15 φανείη, προσῆκον; προκατεσχημένον: ον perhaps corrected from ω   17
ἐγκτήσ(εων) Ἀρσι(νοίτου): read by O. M. Pearl

Translation

To Aurelius Horion, senator and archivist of the registry of real
property of the Arsinoite nome (2nd hd.) from Aurelia Tapais, daughter
of Papnouthis and Thaisas, from the village of Philadelphia of the
division of Heracleides, acting without a guardian in accordance with
the customs of the Romans in virtue of the *ius liberorum*. I purchased
[in accordance with a contract] drawn up here in Arsinoe on the present
day a building of one story, containing a mill, in which there is a dilapi-
dated yard, located in the same village of Philadelphia, at a price of three
thousand drachmas of silver, equal three thousand dr., from Aurelius
Titus Valerius Gaeanus, son of Titus Valerius Satrianus also called
Serenus and of Julia, Antinoite and however he is styled, not registered.
Accordingly, I submit the application that a provisional entry be made
in accordance with the copy of the contract of sale which I have depos-
ited. For when I submit the declaration for this property, I shall show
that it belongs to me and is unencumbered and unclaimed by anyone,
but if the building should appear to belong to another or to be subject
to a previous claim through the record office, there shall be no hindrance
from the present entry. (1st hd.) Aurelius Horion, senator and archivist
of the registry of real property of the Arsinoite nome . . .

Commentary

1 Aurelius Horion also signs *PWisc* inv. 66a.22.

2 Aurelia Tapais: hitherto known from *PWisc* inv. 66a and b; see Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 45 (1965) p. 186, no. 44a, where she is listed as Αὐρ. Ταπάεις Πάειτος. The present text shows that the father's name is Papnouthis; see also *PWisc* inv. 66a (Boswinkel–Sijpesteijn, *Greek Papyri*, pl. 32), line 5, Αὐρηλίᾳ Ταπάειτι Παπ[ν]ούθ[ιος.

4–5 Possibly κ[ατα χρη-]μ[ατισ]μόν; cf. e.g. *BGU* XI 2031.9–10; *SB* VI 9625.7–8. It would then be necessary to alter γεγονότος to γεγονότα.

6 μο[ν]όστεγον: see F. Luckhard, *Das Privathaus im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten* (Giessen 1914) 38.

7 ὕπαυλις: ἔπαυλις could also be read, but there is a diaeresis over the first letter. Since diaeresis is expected over υ and definitely not over ε, ὕπαυλις is a preferable reading. The word ὕπαυλις has not previously occurred. It is true that LSJ cites it from the docket of *PLond* I 113.5a (p. 211): μίσθ(ωσις) ὑπαύλεως, but Bell showed that the correct reading there is ἐπαύλεως (*BL* I p. 237). (I have examined the London papyrus at the British Museum and have verified Bell's correction.)

11–14 διὸ ἐπιδίδωμει κτλ.: see Kiessling, *JJP* 15 (1965) 87f.

16–17 μὴ ἔσ{σ}εσθαι ἐμπόδιον κτλ.: i.e. "if the *bibliotheke* discovers a prior claim, then my parathesis will not oppose it." See J. C. Naber, *Mnemosyne* 55 (1927) 217f. Kiessling (see n. to lines 11–14), 87ff, thinks that ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς παραθέσεως refers to the claims of a third party. He paraphrases the passage: "dann wird . . . aus einer solchen . . . Eintragung eines Dritten für meine später erfolgende definitive ἀπογραφή zum Zweck der Umbuchung auf meine Personalfolie kein Hindernis entstehen." His view is based primarily on the declarant's statement that when he submits his definitive ἀπογραφή he will prove that the property is "frei von allen Rechten Dritter"; thus any claims which subsequently come to light can only be fraudulent. But in my opinion the phrase ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς παραθέσεως more naturally refers to the application which is now submitted; otherwise we would expect ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς παραθέσεως. Further, even though the buyer expects that in his *apographe* the property will be shown to be unburdened by previous claims, some may have gone undetected and may someday appear in the *bibliotheke*. He therefore acknowledges that such claims, if they are valid, will take precedence over his own.

17 After Ἀρσι(νοίτου) the writing is extremely damaged. Perhaps ιδ (ἔτους?) Φαρμ(οῦθι) [ι could be read; the date comes from *PWisc* nv. 66a and b.

No. 2

EXCERPT FROM LAND DECLARATIONS

Inv. 1387 8.0 × 25.5 cm. Before A.D. 302

The papyrus preserves the left-hand portion of an excerpt from declarations of land submitted by Atisius, son of Hatres, in response to the census conducted by Julius Septimius Sabinus in 297 and the following years (see *PCairIsidor* 2 introd., J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte*, Mém. Acad. Roy. Belgique, ser. 2, 57, 2 [1964], pp. 262f).[2] The list is a duplicate of *PCol* inv. 181(11) ined., which is briefly described in *PCairIsidor* 2 and 6 introd.[3] The Columbia papyrus is a detailed listing of Atisius' holdings both in the *horiodeiktia* of Karanis and in the village itself. Only that part of the list which deals with the village property is contained in the present papyrus.

The more extensive Columbia text mentions property belonging to Atisius in the first and fifth *sphragides* in the *horiodeiktia* of Karanis (*PCol* inv. 181(11) cols. ii and iii). Since Atisius surrendered his ownership of these parcels in a contract of cession dated in 302 (*PNewYork* 20 and 21),[4] the excerpt must have been made sometime before that year.

Similar texts are *PCairIsidor* 7, which summarizes declarations made by Heracles and Alexander, sons of Horion; and *PCol* inv. 181 (25) ined. (see *PCairIsidor*, p. 30).

ἐξ ἀπογραφῶν Σαβ[είνου κηνσίτορος κώμης Καρανίδος]
  Ἀτίσιος Ἀτρῆ ἀπὸ κ[ώμης Καρανίδος]
δ/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπῳ Στῳ [λεγομ(ένῳ) β(ασιλικῆς) σπορ(ᾶς) ιγ
  (ἔτους) (ἀρούρης) ⊅ ι̅ϛ̅ λβ ξδ]
  ἀνατολ(ῶν) γῆ ἄββροχος ἀ[δέσποτος διόλου, δυσμ(ῶν) Ἥρωνος]
5 καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ ἀπ[ὸ κοινωνίας Ἥρωνος ἰδιω(τικῆς) σ(πορᾶς)
  ιγ (ἔτους) (ἄρουραι) δ d η ξδ]
  ἀνατολῶν καὶ δυσμ[ῶν Ἥρωνος κτῆσις]
ϛ″ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπῳ Τμου[ειταλὴ λεγομ(ένῳ) β(ασιλικῆς)
  ἀβ(ρόχου) (ἄρ.) η d η ι̅ϛ̅]

[2] A copy of a land declaration of Atisius, which was submitted during the same census, is preserved as *PNewYork* I.

[3] Unless otherwise noted, the Columbia papyrus has provided all the restorations in the present text. I should like to express my thanks to Professor Naphtali Lewis for letting me use his transcript of *PCol* inv. 181(11) and to Professor William M. Calder III for permitting me to quote from the papyrus.

[4] *PNewYork* 21 is a copy of 20, as has been shown by *PMich* inv. 1415, a large fragment from the same sheet as 21. An edition of *PNewYork* 21 + *PMich* inv. 1415 may be found in *HSCP* 74 (1970) 321ff.

ἀνατολῶν Λεωνίδου, [δυσμ(ῶν) ὑδραγωγὸς μεθ᾽ (ὃν) Παννοῦ]

ζ/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπῳ Τα[πατῆς λεγομ(ένῳ) β(ασιλικῆς)
      σπο(ρίμης) (ἄρ.) γ η̅ ι̅ϛ̅ ξ̅δ̅]

10   καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ [ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπο(ρᾶς) φοιν(ικῶνος) ιβ
      (ἔτους) (ἄρ.) ε]

ἀνατολ(ῶν) ὑδραγω(γὸς) μεθ᾽ (ὃν) ἀ̣[βροχ(ος) ἀδέσποτ(ος) διόλου,
      δυσμῶν Ἡρακλέου]

ια/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπῳ Πέλ[ουα λεγομ(ένῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) ἀβ(ρόχου)
      (ἄρ.) γ η̅᾽]

ἀνατολ(ῶν) γῆ ἄβροχ(ος) ἀδέ[σποτ(ος) διόλου, δυσμ(ῶν) γῆ
      χέρσο(ς) ξυλῖτις διόλου]

ιγ″ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπῳ Πι[ασόκμην λεγομ(ένῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς)
      σπορ(ίμης) (ἄρ.) ε ∠ η̅ ι̅ϛ̅ ξ̅δ̅]

15   ἀνατολ(ῶν) Ἀβοίκεως [κτῆσις, δυσμ(ῶν) Παησίου κτῆσις]
ιδ/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τό[π(ῳ) ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορίμης (ἄρ.) ιδ d
      ι̅ϛ̅]

καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ [ἰδιω(τικῆς) χέρσου (ἄρ.) γ η̅᾽]
ἀνατολ(ῶν) ὑδραγωγὸς [μεθ᾽ (ὃν) Ἀβοίκεως κτῆσις, δυσμ(ῶν) ± 4]
ιη/ σφρα(γῖδος) ἐν τόπῳ Πα[άλαμα λεγομ(ένῳ) ἀπὸ κοινωνίας]

20   Ἰσιδώρου καὶ Ἥρω[νος καὶ Ἑλένης ἰδιω(τικῆς) σπορᾶς ιδ
      (ἔτους) (ἀρούρης) ∠ η̅ ι̅ϛ̅ λ̅β̅ ξ̅δ̅]

ἀνατολῶν Ἰσιδώρ[ου κτῆσις, δυσμ(ῶν) χέρσο(ς) ξυλῖτι(ς) διόλου]

(γίνονται) ὁμοῦ βασιλι[(κῆς) σπορίμ(ης)   (ἄρ.) δ ∠ η̅ ι̅ϛ̅]
      ἰδιωτι[(κῆς) σπορίμ(ης)   (ἄρ.) λ η̅ ξ̅δ̅]
      βασιλ(ικῆς) [ἀβρόχου   (ἄρ.) η d η̅ ι̅ϛ̅]
25   [ἰδιω(τικῆς) ἀβρόχου   (ἄρ.) γ η̅᾽]
      [ἰδιω(τικῆς) χέρσου   (ἀρ.) η̅᾽]

1 read by H. C. Youtie   11 μεθ᾽ (ὃν): μεθ᾽ Pap.   13 ἀδέσποτος:
α remade   18 ὑδραγωγος Pap.   20 ἴσιδωρου Pap.

Translation

Excerpt from declarations for Sabinus *censitor*: Village of Karanis.
Atisius, son of Hatres, of the village of Karanis.

In the 4th section, in the district called Sto, $\frac{55}{64}$ ar. of royal land classed
arable in year 13; on the east uninundated land entirely unowned, and
on the west the estate of Heron. And in the same district, $4\frac{25}{64}$ ar. of
private land classed arable in year 13, in partnership with Heron; on
the east and west the estate of Heron.

In the 6th section, in the district called Tmoueitale, $8\frac{7}{16}$ ar. of unin-
undated royal land; on the east the estate of Leonides, and on the west
an irrigation ditch, beyond which is the estate of Pannous.

In the 7th section, in the district called Tapates, $3\frac{53}{64}$ ar. of arable

royal land. And in the same district, 5 ar. of private land classed arable in year 12 and containing a palm grove; on the east an irrigation ditch, beyond which is uninundated land entirely unowned, and on the west the estate of Heracles.

In the 11th section, in the district called Peloua, $3\frac{1}{8}$ ar. of uninundated private land; on the east uninundated land entirely unowned, and on the west waste land covered with underbrush throughout.

In the 13th section, in the district called Piasokmen, $5\frac{45}{64}$ ar. of arable private land; on the east the estate of Aboikis, and on the west the estate of Paësius.

In the 14th section, in the same district, $14\frac{5}{16}$ ar. of arable private land. And in the same district, $3\frac{1}{8}$ ar. of private waste land; on the east an irrigation ditch, beyond which is the estate of Aboikis, and on the west...

In the 18th section, in the district called Paalama, $\frac{47}{64}$ ar. of private land classed arable in year 14, in partnership with Isidorus, Heron, and Helene; on the east the estate of Isidorus, and on the west waste land covered with underbrush throughout.

Total, of arable royal land	$4\frac{11}{16}$ ar.
of arable private land	$30\frac{9}{64}$ ar.
of uninundated royal land	$8\frac{7}{16}$ ar.
of uninundated private land	$3\frac{1}{8}$ ar.
of private waste land	$\frac{1}{8}$ ar.

Commentary

3   $\sigma\pi o\rho(\hat{a}s)$ $\iota\gamma$ ($\check{\epsilon}\tau o\upsilon s$): i.e. the land was brought under cultivation in the 13th year (of Diocletian, A.D. 296/297); see N. Lewis, *JEA* 29 (1943) 71–73. The word $\sigma\pi o\rho\acute{a}$, which technically means "sowing," is here used as the rubric under which the parcel was listed.

4   $\mathring{a}\beta\rho o\chi os$: *PCol* inv. 181(11).22, which corresponds to this passage, has $\mathring{a}\beta\rho\acute{o}\chi o\upsilon$.

10   $\mathring{\iota}\delta\iota\omega(\tau\iota\kappa\hat{\eta}s)$ $\sigma\pi o(\rho\hat{a}s)$ $\phi o\iota\nu(\iota\kappa\hat{\omega}\nu os)$ $\iota\beta$ ($\check{\epsilon}\tau o\upsilon s$): the position of $\phi o\iota\nu(\iota\kappa\hat{\omega}\nu os)$ is awkward. It is probably a subheading of the title $\sigma\pi o\rho\hat{a}s$ $\iota\beta$ ($\check{\epsilon}\tau o\upsilon s$), in which the land was classified. Year 12 = A.D. 295/296. Professor Youtie suggests that the sowing of year 12 converted the $\phi o\iota\nu\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu$ into a $\phi o\iota\nu\iota\kappa\grave{\omega}\nu$ $\mathring{\upsilon}\pi o\sigma\pi\epsilon\iota\rho\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu os$, i.e. a palm grove under the trees of which other crops were planted (M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Münich. Beitr. 7 [1925] 295f).

13   $\xi\upsilon\lambda\hat{\iota}\tau\iota s$: *PCol* inv. 181(11).33 has $\xi\upsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\tau\iota\delta os$. On the meaning of $\gamma\hat{\eta}$ $\xi\upsilon\lambda\hat{\iota}\tau\iota s$ see Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft*, p. 14.

17   ($\mathring{a}\rho$.) γ η': note the scribal discrepancy between this amount and that in the totals (line 26).

20   Year 14 = A.D. 297/298.

No. 3

RECEIPTS FOR *TIMH ΠΥΡΟΥ*

Inv. 393   41.8 × 26.3 cm.   Aug./Nov. A.D. 304

The papyrus is complete only at the top, and the text, especially toward the left, is damaged by worm holes.

Two columns are preserved containing receipts for τιμὴ πυροῦ, which were issued to sitologoi of Philadelphia. Their content is summarized in the following table:

Reference	Date	For Year	Payment
1–5	End of August 304	301/2	1 tal.
6–7	,,	302/3	5 tal.
8–9	,,	301/2	14 tal.
10–11	,,	,,	1 tal.
12–13	5 Sept. 304	,,	7 tal.
14–15	?	,,	1 tal.
16–17	?	?	2 tal.
18–19	?	301/2	4 tal.
20–21	?	,,	2 tal.
22–25	24 Nov. 304	302/3	5 tal.
26–29	26 Nov. 304	301/2	1 tal.
30–32	,,	,,	1 tal.

Τιμὴ πυροῦ is here used, as it generally is at this period, to refer to arrears in the land tax.[5] As often, the arrears are discharged through a money payment, though the impost itself was levied in kind.[6] In the Byzantine period the land tax was employed not only to provide grain for the chief cities of the empire, but also to maintain the army and civil service. In the former case it was technically called the *annona civica*, in the latter the *annona militaris*.[7] The sitologoi were in charge of both types of land tax, whether paid in kind or commuted to money.[8]

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[5] See the numerous examples of τιμὴ πυροῦ collected by Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypt*, p. 200, to which should be added *PCairIsidor* 33 and *PMich* 600. Of these only *PCairIsidor* 59, 19–26, and 146 refer to commutation of the current year's taxes.

[6] Wilcken, *Ostraka* I, 209f; cf. R. MacMullen, *Aegyptus* 42 (1962) 100.

[7] J. Karayannopulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (Munich 1958) 106f. There is a tendency, which started with Wilcken, to regard the Byzantine *annona militaris* and the land tax as separate imposts. This distinction is valid for the first three centuries A.D.; cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation in Egypt* (Princeton 1938) 23f. But, beginning with the early Byzantine period, as Karayannopulos has shown, there was one general land tax, the proceeds from which were directed toward either the *annona civica* or the *annona militaris*.

Col. i

ἔ[τους κ/] καὶ ιβϛ/ τῶν κυρίω[ν] Δ[ιοκλη]τιανοῦ

[καὶ Μαξι]μιανοῦ Σεβαστῶν καὶ Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ

τ[ῶν ἐπιφανεσ]τά[τω]ν Καισάρων ἐπαγ[ο(μένων)] . διέγρ](αψαν)

ʼΑπύγ[χις] καὶ

ʼΑβ[οεῖς καὶ οἱ] κοι(νωνοὶ) [σ]ι(τολόγοι) τιμῆς πυροῦ ιηϛ καὶ ιζϛ

καὶ ι[ϛ Φι]λαδελφίας

5 τάλ[αντον] ἕν, γ(ίνεται) [(τάλ.)] α

καὶ τῇ α[ὐτῇ δ]ιέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁμοί(ως) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιθϛ [καὶ

ι]ηϛ καὶ ιαϛ/

/ Φι[λαδελφί]ας τάλαντα πέντε, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ε

καὶ ὁμοί(ως) τι(μῆς) π(υροῦ) ιηϛ καὶ ιζϛ καὶ ιϛ Φιλαδελφίας τάλαντα

δεκατ[έσσ]αρα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ιδ

10 κ[αὶ] ὁμοί(ως) τ[ῇ] αὐτῇ ἡμέρα τι(μῆς) π(υροῦ) ιηϛ καὶ ιζϛ καὶ ιϛ

[Φιλα]δ[ελφία]ς τάλαντον [ἕ]ν, [γ(ίνεται)] α

κα[ὶ καϛ καὶ κϛ καὶ] ιγϛ/ Θωθ η' διέ[γρ(αψαν)] οἱ α]ὐ[τοὶ ὁμ]οί(ως)

[τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιηϛ κα]ὶ ιζ[ϛ] καὶ ιϛ/ Φιλα[δελ]φ(ίας) τάλ[αντα ἑπτά,]

(γίν.) (τάλ.) ζ

[± 13] διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ α[ὐτ]οὶ ὁ[μοί(ως) τι(μῆς) πυρο]ῦ

15 [ιηϛ καὶ ιζϛ κα]ὶ ι[ϛ]/ Φιλ[αδελ]φίας τάλαντο]ν ἕν, (γίν.) (τάλ.) α

[± 9] οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁ[μοί(ως)] τι(μῆς) [πυ]ροῦ.. [± 12]/

[Φιλαδελφία]ς τάλαντα [δύο,] (γίν.) (τάλ.) β

καὶ τῇ ι. διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ [τι(μῆς) πυρ]οῦ ιηϛ καὶ ιζϛ καὶ ιϛ/

Φιλαδελφ(ίας) τάλαντα [τέσσα]ρα, (γίν.) (τάλ.) δ

20 καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρα ὁμοί(ως) Ἄφων τι(μῆς) πυ[ρο]ῦ ιηϛ καὶ ιζϛ καὶ ιϛ/

Φιλαδελφ(ίας) τάλαντα δύο, (γίν.) (τάλ.) β

— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —

Col. ii

(2nd hd.)   καὶ Ἀθὺρ κη' διέγρ(αψαν) Ἀπύγχις

καὶ Ἀβοεῖς καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) σι(τολόγοι) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ

ιθϛ καὶ ιηϛ κ[αὶ] ιαϛ/ Φ[ι]λαδελφίας

25 τάλαντα πέ[ντ]αι, (γίν.) (τάλ.) ε

καὶ τῇ λ' διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ τι(μῆς)

πυροῦ ιηϛ καὶ ιζϛ καὶ ιϛ/ Φιλα-

δελφίας, ἑτέρου συμβόλου

μὴ ἐπιφερομένου, τάλαντον ἕν, (γίν.) (τάλ.) α

Consequently it is idle to speculate, as I did in the introd. to *PMich* 600, whether payments designated as τιμή cover arrears in the land tax or a requisition for the military *annona*.

8 A. C. Johnson and L. C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton 1949) 326 and 329, and Lallemand, *Administration*, p. 207, and nn. 3 and 4. The apaitetai were the regular collectors of the *annona militaris* (Lallemand, p. 208; *PCairIsidor* 41 introd.). But the fact that the same people at times functioned simultaneously as sitologoi and apaitetai (*PNew York* 3, *PThead* 50) shows how closely connected the two *annonae* were.

30   (3rd hd.)   καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διέγρ(αψαν) οἱ αὐτοὶ
      ὁμοί(ως) τι(μῆς) πυροῦ ιηϚ/ καὶ ιζϚ/
      καὶ ιϚ/ Φιλ[αδ]ελ[φ]ίας ἄλλο τάλα[ντον ἕν, (γίν.)] (ταλ.) α

_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _

3   διέγρ](αφαν): only the stroke of abbreviation is left   14   [καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ
ἡμέρᾳ] suits the space   16   Perhaps [καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ] at beginning of line
20   *Ἄφων* (read by H. C. Youtie) inserted above the line   25   πέ[ντ]αι
(= πέντε) read by H. C. Youtie   32   ἄλλο inserted above the line

Translation

Col. i

Year 20–12 of the lords Diocletian and Maximian, Augusti, and Con-
stantius and Maximian, the most noble Caesars, epagomenal day . . .
Apynchis, Aboeis, and the associate sitologoi have paid as the price of
wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, one talent, equal 1 tal.

And on the same day, the same have likewise paid as the price of
wheat of year 19-18-11, for Philadelphia, five talents, equal 5 tal.

And likewise as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia,
fourteen talents, equal 14 tal.

And likewise on the same day, as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10,
for Philadelphia, one talent, equal 1 tal.

Year 21-20-13, Thoth 8. The same have likewise paid as the price of
wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, seven talents, equal 7 tal.

. . . the same have likewise paid as the price of wheat of year 18-17-10,
for Philadelphia, one talent, equal 1 tal.

. . . the same likewise as the price of wheat . . ., for Philadelphia, two
talents, equal 2 tal.

And on the 1.th, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year
18-17-10, for Philadelphia, four talents, equal 4 tal.

And on the same day, Aphon likewise (has paid) as the price of wheat
of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, two talents, equal 2 tal.

Col. ii

(2nd hd.) Hathyr 28. Apynchis, Aboeis, and the associate sitologoi
have paid as the price of wheat of year 19-18-11, for Philadelphia, five
talents, equal 5 tal.

And on the 30th, the same have paid as the price of wheat of year
18-17-10, for Philadelphia, no other receipt being produced, one talent,
equal 1 tal.

(3rd hd.) And on the same day, the same have likewise paid as the price
of wheat of year 18-17-10, for Philadelphia, another one talent, equal 1

Commentary

1   There is no room for κυρίω[ν ἡμῶν].

4   Aboeis appears as sitologos also in *PPrincRoll* viii 9 (Philadelphia; A.D. 317).

20   Aphon is mentioned as sitologos in *PMich* 600 (Philadelphia; A.D. 304).

28–29   ἑτέρου συμβόλου μὴ ἐπιφερομένου: the phrase implies that only one receipt was issued; see R. A. Coles, *TAPA* 97 (1966) 64f; D. Hagedorn, *Zeitschr. für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 4 (1969) 68.

No. 4

RECEIPT FOR BARLEY

Inv. 402   29.3 × 7.5 cm.   Early 4th cent. A.D.

Two pieces of papyrus have been pasted together. The first bears only faint remnants of writing at the top: ¹].. [²]ιθ x The symbol at the end may be a tax collector's monogram; see *PMich* VI 401.5 and note.

The second papyrus, incomplete at the bottom, contains a receipt issued by the apodektai of the harbor of Leukogion for deliveries of barley. The recipients are praktores of Philadelpia. One of them, Aurelius Akas, appears as sitologos in *PPrincRoll* iv 11 (Philadelphia; A.D. 314), and vi 13 (A.D. 316). Another bears the name Ptolemaeus and is perhaps to be identified with a sitologos of the same name in *PPrincRoll* vi 1 (315), x 14 (319).

For other examples of the barley tax, see J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile de l'Égypte*, p. 194.

Αὐρήλιοι Αὐνῆς καὶ Ἀπολινάρ[ιος καὶ] οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) καὶ Ἀῆς καὶ
[Ἰ]σίδωρος
καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) καὶ Κοπρῆς καὶ Πανισάτης καὶ Κανολῆς καὶ Πατᾶς
ἀμφότεροι ἀποδέκται ὅρμου Λευκογίου Αὐρηλίοις Ἀκᾶς
καὶ Πεκύσεως καὶ Πτολεμαῖο[ς] καὶ οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ) πράκτωρες κώ(μης)
5   Φιλαδελφίας   χαίρειν.   παρελάβαμεν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν
ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης ἐν τῷ αὐ[τ]ῷ ὅρμῳ κριθῆς ἀρτ(άβας)
[   ].....[ ]τα .[   ].. [   ]—

1 οἱ κοι(νωνοὶ): read by H. C. Youtie   3–4 Ἀκᾶτι καὶ Πεκύσι καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ τοῖς κοινωνοῖς πράκτορσι

Translation

Aurelii Aunes, Apolinarius, and their associates, Aes, Isidorus, and their associates, and Kopres, Panisates, Kanoles, and Patas, all apodektai of the harbor of Leukogion, to Aurelii Akas, Pekysis, Ptolemaeus, and

the associate tax collectors of the village of Philadelphia, greeting. We have received from you, for the same village, in the same harbor, . . . artabas of barley . . .

<div align="center">Commentary</div>

2   Κανολῆς: only here, unless Κανότης in *PBad* IV 83.4 is incorrectly read. Instead of Κανολῆς καὶ Πατᾶς, Κανόλ καὶ Καιπατᾶς might be read (for Κανόλ see *PCairIsidor* 85.6, note; Crum, *Coptic Dict.*, s.v. ΚΟΥΙ II B b).

3   ἀμφότεροι: here used as the equivalent of πάντες; see *PPrincRoll* i 2, note.

<div align="center">No. 5

ACCOUNT OF TAX PAYMENTS</div>

Inv. 1386   13.8 × 21.2 cm.   Ca. A.D. 330–340

This papyrus, which is generally well preserved, contains a *kat' andra* list of money payments. The magnitude of the amounts involved perhaps implies commutation of the land tax (see no. 3 introd.). The heading records the name of Aion, son of Sarapion, a leading figure in a Karanis archive which falls in the first and second decade after the death of Aurelius Isidorus (ca. A.D. 324); see *PNew York*, preface, p. ix. His position in the title of the present text and the reference to him alone on the verso suggest that he is the head of a pittakion, or agricultural firm; cf. *PCairIsidor* 24.1, note, and 27 introd.

	διὰ Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων(ος)	
	Ἀιῶν .[..]	(ταλάτων) μ(υριάδες) ϛ,ερ
	Ἀιῶν Σερήνου	(ταλ.) μ(υριὰς) α γ̇φ
	Ἀ[ι]ῷν διάκων	(ταλ.) μ(υριὰς) α ἀφ
5	Σωκράτης	(ταλ.) μ(υριάδες) γ,ευ
	Ἀιῶν Μέλα	(τάλαντα) ,ζψ
	Ἡρᾶς Σαραπίων(ος)	(ταλ.) μ(υριὰς) α ἀ
	Νιλάμων Σαβίνου	(ταλ.) μ(υριάδες) ε φ
	Ὁλ ὑπὲρ Θερμουθίου	(ταλ.) μ(υριὰς) α ,θ
10	Σιμβρονία	(τάλ.) ἀσ
	Θαεισᾶς	(τάλ.) γ̇φ
	Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων(ος)	(τάλ.) β̇φ
	Νῖλος κοφός	(τάλ.) ἀ ⸍
	Ἀιῶν Σερήνου	(τάλ.) β̇φ
15	(ταλ.) μ(υριάδες) κβ ,ετ	
	Verso	
	Ἀιῶν Σαραπίων(ος)	
	λοι(παὶ) (ταλ.) μ(υριάδες) ι ϛ̇τ	

9 ολ᾽ Pap.   10 Σεμπρωνία   13 κωφός

Translation

Through Aion, son of Sarapion

Aion . . .	65,100 tal.
Aion, son of Serenus	13,500 tal.
Aion diaconus	11,500 tal.
Socrates	35,400 tal.
Aion, son of Melas	7,700 tal.
Heras, son of Sarapion	11,000 tal.
Nilamon, son of Sabinus	50,500 tal.
Hol on behalf of Thermouthion	19,000 tal.
Sempronia	1,200 tal.
Thaisas	3,500 tal.
Aion, son of Sarapion	2,500 tal.
Nilos, dumb	1,900 tal.
Aion, son of Serenus	2,500 tal.
	225,300 tal.

Verso

Aion, son of Sarapion
remaining: 106,300 tal.

Commentary

1, 7, 12, 16 $\Sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\dot{\iota}\omega\nu(os)$: the papyrus has no mark of abbreviation; possibly the name was regarded as indeclinable.

4   $\delta\iota\dot{\alpha}\kappa\omega\nu$: equivalent of $\delta\iota\dot{\alpha}\kappa\sigma\nu os$; see A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (Tübingen 1923) 73.

7   $\dot{\rm `}H\rho\hat{\alpha}s\ \Sigma\alpha\rho\alpha\pi\dot{\iota}\omega\nu(os)$: also in *PNew York* 11a.181, 19.4.

15   The total is correct.

No. 6

ACCOUNT OF DELIVERIES

Inv. 6453   8.7 × 25.7 cm.   Ca. A.D. 312

Though the papyrus is broken off at the right, and the loss is indeterminable, the general nature of the text is fairly clear. It is a month-by-month list of deliveries measured in $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\iota$ and therefore probably consisting of wine or oil (see Wilcken, *Ostraka* I, pp. 762f). Most of the entries contain the names of persons through whom the amounts are paid, followed by the total, which is usually expressed as a series of deliveries made in different regnal years (A.D. 309/10–311/12). Line 18 may refer to the military camp at Babylon (modern Fustat); if so, then at least some of the deliveries were allocated to the army.

The papyrus belongs to the group discovered during the 1933 excavations at Karanis conducted by the University of Michigan.

	Year	Amount
διὰ Ὡριγένους Ἀρποκρατίωνο[ς		
ὧν ἰνδικτίονος ηϚ ϛϚ δϚ ξ(έσται)[	311/12	—
ιηϚ ϛϚ ξ(έσ.) δ ϡ ξd΄ .[	309/10	4,960 1/4
διὰ Δίου Ὡρεῖ ἄρξ(αντος) καὶ Κάστορος Ὡρι.[		
Διοσκόρου Λύκωνος ἄρξ(αντος) ..[		
Λυκαπόλλωνος Ἑρμανουβίωνο[ς		
καὶ κοι(νωνῶν) ἰνδικτίονος [		
ιθϚ ζϚ ξ(εστῶν) μ(υριὰς) α ἠ ϡλε	310/11	18,935
δ[ι]ὰ Ὡρίωνος Ἀρποκρατίωνος[		
ξ(εσ.) μ(υριὰς) α σμβ ιηϚ ϛϚ ξ(έσ.) ἠ[	309/10	10,242,8[.
ἐν οἷς μετεβλήθη πανθ...[		
γ(ίνεται) τοῦ μη(νὸς) ξ(έσ.).[		—
]... Φαρμοῦθι διὰ Ὡριγένους[		
ὧν ἰνδικτίονος ιθϚ ζϚ ξ(έσ.) ..[	310/11	—
]διὰ Σαρμάτου Ζωσίμου [		
ὧν ιθϚ ζϚ ξ(έσ.) ϛωμδ .[	310/11	6,844
Πα]ῦνι διὰ Ἀπολλωνίου Σαραπίωνος καὶ .[		
Βαβυλῶνα		
Πα]ῦνι διὰ Λυκαπόλλωνος καὶ Ἑρμαν[		

2   and passim: ξ(έσται) read by H. C. Youtie   10   σμβ: σ read by H. C. Youtie

Commentary

2   ὧν: preceded by the total, which is here itemized.

The date is given as the indiction of the 8th year of Maximinus, 6th of Constantine, and 4th of Licinius. The 15-year indiction cycle did not begin until Sept. 312 (V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* [Paris 1958] 192; *PPrincRoll* pp. 25–31). Earlier indictions refer to regnal years; cf. *PSI* VIII 886.7 ἐπὶ τῆς ιθ (ἔτους) ζ (ἔτους) ἰνδικτί[ονος, i.e. the indiction of the 19th year of Galerius and the 7th of Maximinus. See *PPrincRoll*, pp. 26f.

4   Ὡρεῖ: late short genitive of Ὡρεῖς.

11   μετεβλήθη: μεταβάλλω may mean "im Girowege Zahlung leisten" (Preisigke, *Fachwörter*, s.v.) or simply "to transport" (*PMich* VIII 466.16, note).

πανθ...[: perhaps πάνθ' ἃ..[

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

THE GYGEAN LAKE, 1969: ESKI BALIKHANE, PRELIMINARY REPORT

DAVID GORDON MITTEN AND GÜLDEM YÜĞRÜM

DURING the summer season of 1969, a brief test excavation[1] was undertaken at the locality Eski Balikhane on the south shore of the Gygean Lake (modern Marmara Gölü), c. 2 km. east of the village of Tekelioğlu Köyü and c. 1 km. east of the modern fishery, or "Balik-hane" (fig. 1). The site consists of a prominent headland projecting into the lake from whose eroded banks project rubble and brick walls of Roman and early Byzantine date. The lake shore and fields for c. 150 meters to the east of this headland yield sherds and other finds that range in date from Ottoman and late Byzantine back through Roman and Lydian to Early Bronze Age material of the third millennium B.C. With the landowner's permission,[2] a 10 by 5 meter trench (Trench A), oriented north–south, was laid out in the field east of the promontory and excavated to sterile subsoil (fig. 2).

[1] For previous excavation along the south shore of the Gygean Lake, cf. *Basor* 191 (1968) 7–10.

The authors wish to thank Bay Muharrem Tağtekin, Commissioner for the Department of Antiquities and Museums, Ministry of Education of the Turkish Republic, and Idare Memuru of the Manisa Arkeoloji Müzesi, for his ready help, wise counsel from years of experience in the Bin Tepe–Gygean Lake region, and staunch friendship throughout every phase of the work. Likewise, we are deeply indebted to Prof. George M. A. Hanfmann, Field Director of the Harvard–Cornell Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, who greatly assisted the excavation and made available transportation and photographic help. David J. Finkel, University of Oregon, was anthropologist-archaeologist. Photographs in the field were taken by Martha Hoppin and D. G. M.; object photography was done at the expedition camp at Sardis by Elisabeth Gombosi. Finally, we wish to acknowledge our continuing debt to Bay Emin Karabacak of Kapanci Köyü, our skilled and devoted foreman.

Work at Eski Balikhane continued from 27 June through 26 July 1969; the crew of eight workmen and a night watchman included seven men from Teke-lioglu Köyü and two experienced pickmen from Sart, Ali Cankol and Sabit Bahar. Bay Cemal Tosun, Salihli, was driver.

[2] We are greatly indebted to Bay Ibrahim Börekci, Salihli, for readily granted permission to excavate on his land and other generous help. With his permission, a concrete stake, Marker A, was installed at the southwest corner for purposes of leveling and grid measurements; it was left in place after the trench was backfilled.

Below the plowzone, which contained mixed Roman and Early Bronze Age sherds, lay a deposit of gray soil, c. 0.35–0.45 m. thick, containing mostly Roman sherds; this can probably be linked with a major period of occupation of the structures on the headland. Circular pits from this layer, apparently trash deposits, intruded through the immediately underlying Early Bronze Age level into virgin soil. The Early Bronze Age level, which contained a number of hard-packed zones, was distinguished by a reddish-brown soil color and an abundance of ceramic fragments and stone objects. This level averages 0.75–0.80 m. in thickness and lies directly upon a compact, clayey sterile subsoil that is dark reddish-brown with tan to whitish flecks. The hard-packed zones, which are certainly occupation surfaces if not floors, were especially abundant at depths of c. 1.00–1.20 m. below the surface; they contained much gravel.

The principal finds in the Early Bronze Age level were five pithos burials, numbered EB (Eski Balikhane) 1–5. Of these EB 69.1 and EB 69.2 were smaller vessels, placed without particular orientation and serving almost certainly for infant burials. EB 69.3, 4, and 5, however, were larger pithoi, laid on their sides with their mouths pointed east; these burials of adults were accompanied by grave offerings.

Pithos EB 69.1 lay in the western edge of the trench with mouth pointed south (N 4.00–4.22 / E 0–1.15, 0.90 m. below surface, 1.10 m. below top of Marker A; pres. l.: 0.56 m., pres. w.: 0.38 m.). The mouth was closed with a stone cover slab 0.11 m. wide. No bones were found inside the pithos.

Pithos EB 69.2 lay in the middle of the north part of the trench (N6.50–7.00 / E2.74–3.20, c. 0.90 m. below surface, c. 1.10 m. below top of Marker A; pres. l.: 0.46 m., max. w.: 0.45 m., h. of handle: 0.10 m.); although only one handle was preserved, the pithos was probably two-handled. D. J. Finkel estimates from cranial, mandible, and long bone fragments that the burial was that of an infant approximately 18 months of age, but of uncertain sex and stature.

Pithos EB 69.3 was a large jar of the classic Early Bronze Age type (fig. 3); most of its upper sherds were missing, and a Roman pit had been dug just south of its neck. It lay at N 3.00–3.80 / E 3.50–5.00, c. 1.50–1.80 m. below surface, c. 1.70–2.00 m. below top of Marker A, and had been excavated well into the subsoil. Dimensions: l.: 1.18 m., max. diam.: 0.85 m., neck diam.: 0.43 m., neck h.: 0.15 m.; the bottom was pointed. There appear to have been four vertical strap handles on the shoulders; one, perhaps two, oval clay medallions (0.19 by 0.165 m.) attached by rivet-like clay tangs through the wall of the neck; and at
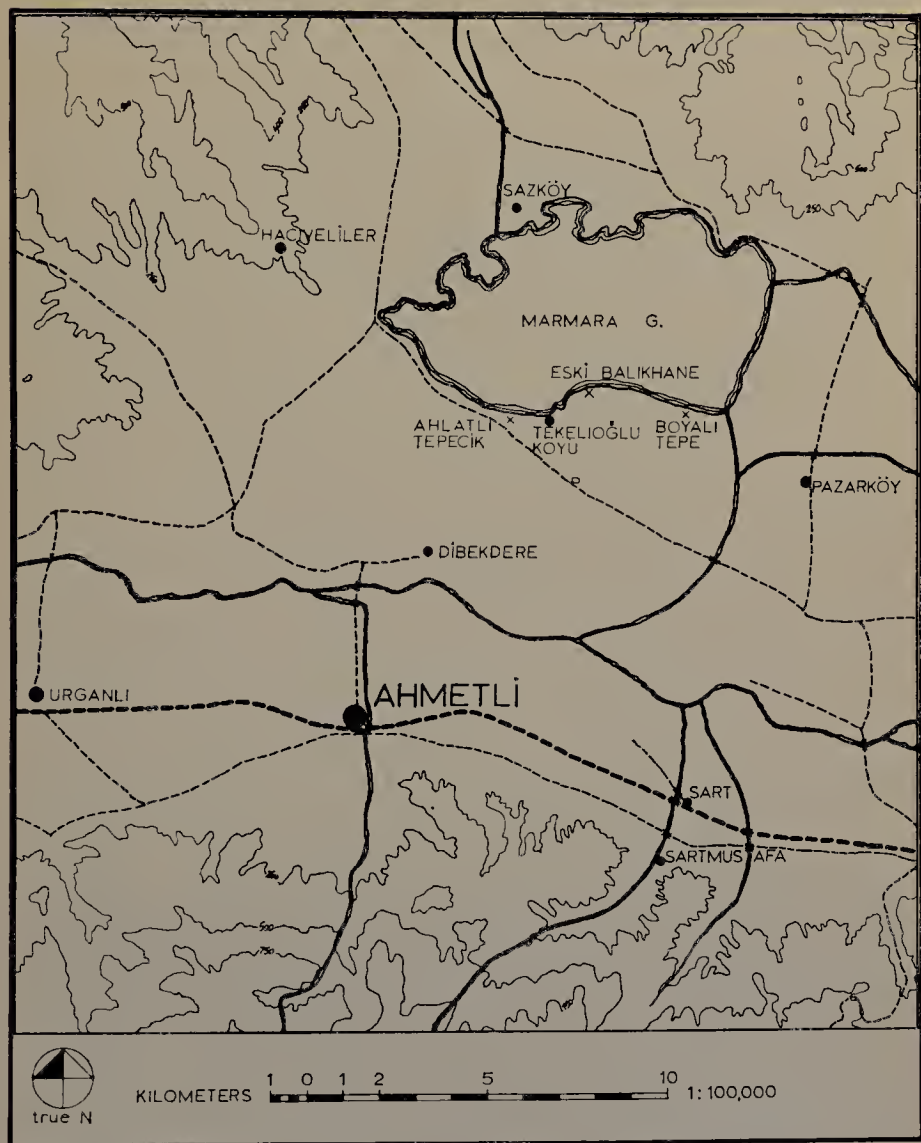
FIG. 1. Map of lake, showing location of Eski Balikhane.

FIG. 2. General view of site, looking northwest, with test trench.

FIG. 3. Pithos burial EB 69.3 in trench, before opening; looking north.
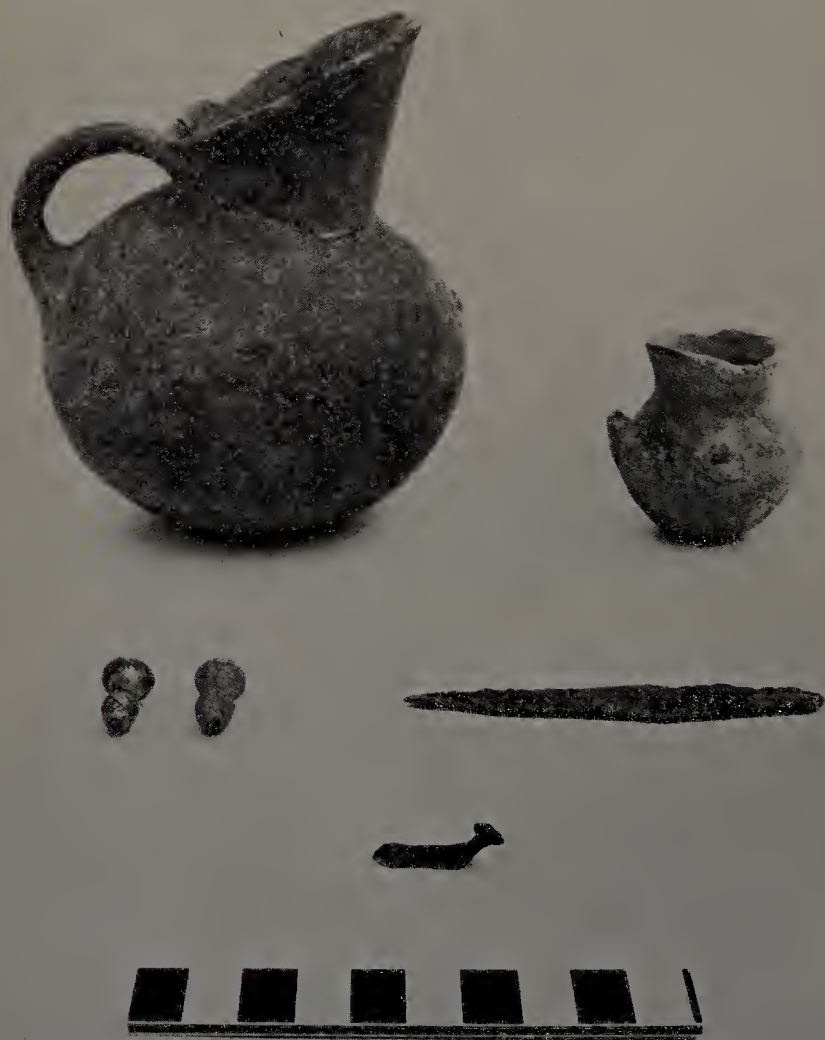
Fig. 4. Grave offerings found in EB 69.3.

FIG. 5. Copper or bronze dagger from EB 69.3 (M 69.5: 7972).

FIG. 6. Silver ram pendant (M 69.6: 7973).

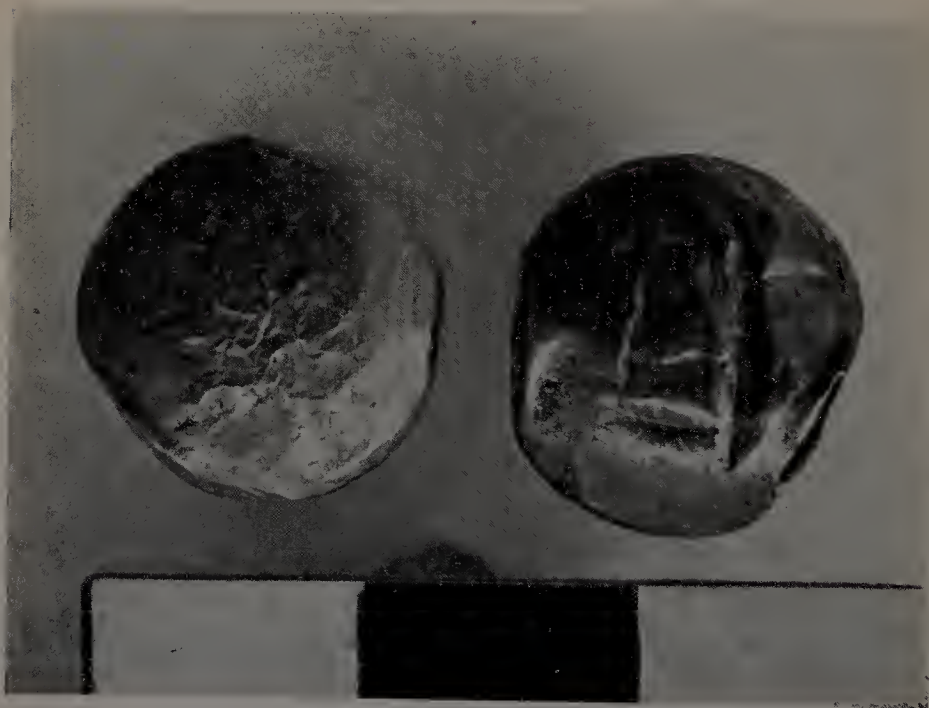FIG. 7a. Pair of gold earplugs (M 69.7: 7974; M 69.8: 7975).
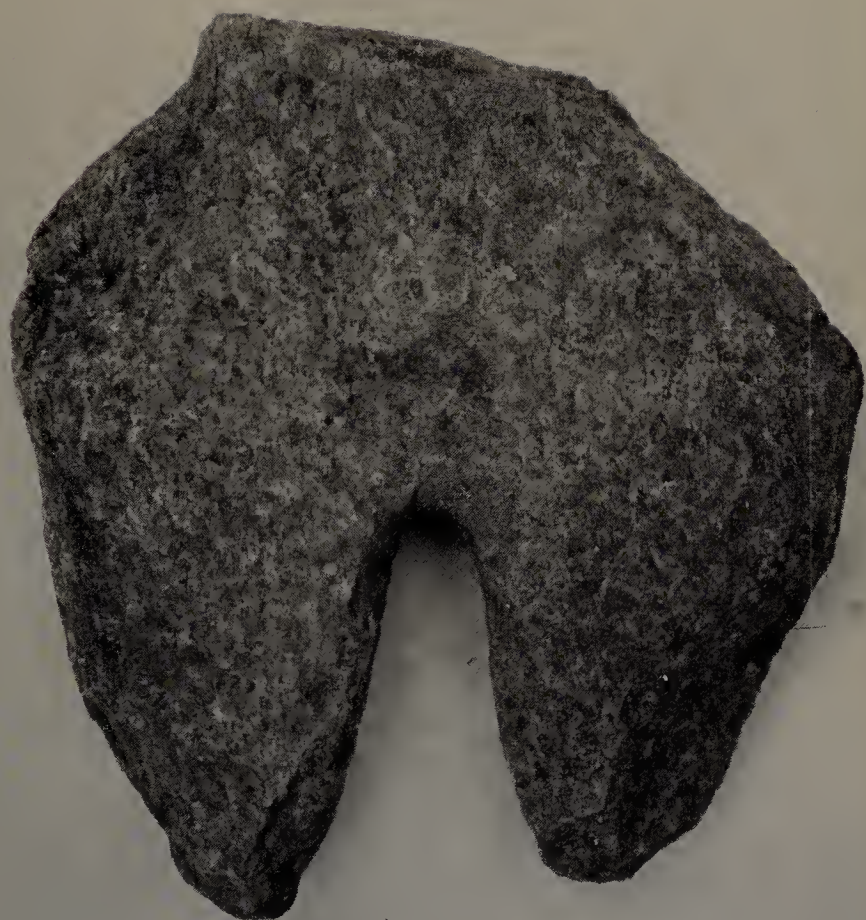

FIG. 7b. Gold earplugs, flat ends.

FIG. 8. Fragmentary schist figurine (S 69.7 : 7959), from outside mouth of Pithos
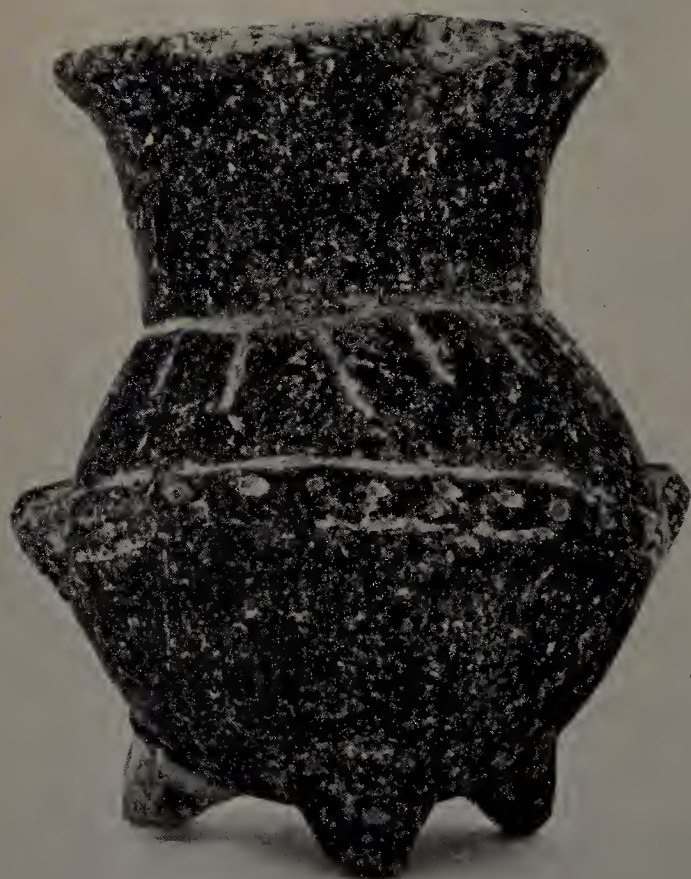burial EB 69.4.

FIG. 9. Miniature blackware tripod vase with incised decoration, from Pithos burial EB 69.5 (P 69.42: 7980).

least two raised relief decorations in the form of a T, from the vertical bar of which hangs a circle. The exact position of these latter features on the pithos remains uncertain. The mouth of the pithos was closed with a carefully trimmed oval schist slab, 0.69 m. long by 0.62 m. high, which was surrounded and reinforced by a packing of limestone cobbles.

The pithos contained the very badly decomposed bones of a single individual, lying in the bottom in flexed position, head toward the east, face toward the north. On the basis of dentition and other evidence, D. J. Finkel determined that the skeleton was that of a male adult c. 35 years of age, plus or minus 5 years.

Three vessels were placed at the northeast edge of the pithos (fig. 4). The first, a black-burnished jug (P 69.36: 7970; h.: 0.17 m., max. diam.: 0.13 m., handle: 0.06 m. long by 0.017 m. wide), stood upright; it was decorated with three tiny lugs on front and sides of the shoulder. The second, too badly decomposed to restore, lay beside the first: a black-burnished jug with body 0.13 m. high and 0.15–0.16 m. in diameter, ornamented with many narrow raised ridges. The third vessel, a small redware vase with micaceous fabric (P 69.37: 7971; h.: 0.06 m., max. diam. of body: 0.055 m., diam. of neck: 0.043 m., diam. of bottom: 0.025 m.) lay in the bottom of the pithos just north of the skull. It has a flaring neck, a flat bottom, and two bifurcated lug handles alternating with two unperforated lugs on the widest part of the body.

On the east side of the upper femur, paralleling it with point to the south, lay a copper or bronze dagger (M 69.5: 7972; l.: 0.103 m., w.: 0.0185 m., perforation in tang 0.012 m. from end; fig. 5). On top of the teeth of the skull was found a tiny silver statuette of a ram (M 69.6: 7973; l.: 0.027 m.; coordinates: N 3.20 / E 4.43, 1.86 m. below top of Marker A; fig. 6), lying on its left side with head pointed south, and 0.05 m. south of the second gold earplug (cf. below; M 69.8: 7975). The right legs are missing; the left legs are tiny, stumpy protuberances, as is the downturned tail. A large head, framed by two curling horns, rises from an elongated, cylindrical body. The statuette is really a tiny pendant, with a transverse perforation through the body just above the front legs. The position in which the statuette was found, along with the hole, strongly suggests that it was worn around the neck.

On either side of the skull lay gold labrets or earplugs (fig. 7a). The first of these (M 69.7: 7974; l.: 0.024 m., diam. of flat end: 0.0125 m., diam. of pointed end: 0.009 m., h. of pointed end: 0.01 m., h. of concave shaft: 0.014 m.) lay under the skull, its tip pointing downward; it was 0.11 m. northeast of and below the second earplug (M 69.8: 7975). The gold is a deep yellow color. The earplug is hollow, with a conical head

rising from a concavely profiled shaft that flares into a flattened round base; the conical head is decorated with crisscross incisions. The tip is slightly broken, with cracks radiating from it. One edge of the base is dented and slightly flattened. The second earplug (M 69.8: 7975; l.: 0.023 m., diam. of flat end: 0.0135 m., diam. of pointed end: 0.009 m., h. of pointed end: 0.009 m., h. of shaft: 0.014 m.) lay on top of the skull with its tip pointing diagonally downward to the northeast, 0.11 m. southeast and above the first earplug and 0.05 m. north of the silver ram. The form is identical. The tip has only a pinprick-sized hole in it. There is a "wrinkle" in the gold just above the edge of the flat base. The flat surface of the base is decorated with a grid-like "graffito" that looks as if it had been impressed with someone's fingernail (fig. 7b).

The unusually varied contents of this burial, including objects of three metals, raise numerous problems, none of which can be solved immediately. They include the source of the gold and silver (from native Lydian sources, or imported from elsewhere?), the technique of manufacture of the objects and implications for the early development of metallurgy in western Anatolia, how the "earplugs" were worn, and the social and religious significance of these ornaments. While earplugs similar to these are known from several sites in western and central Anatolia,[3] no parallels to the ram pendant are known from contexts in controlled excavations.

The other two pithos burials, EB 69.4 and EB 69.5, were found projecting from the south scarp of the trench, lying c. 2.00 m. apart at the same depth. EB 69.4 (S 0–0.60 / E 2.50–3.25; top 1.05 m. below top of Marker A; inner l.: 0.79 m., inner w.: 0.69 m.) lay on its side, mouth oriented east and closed by a small rectangular schist slab reinforced by a cobble packing. This pithos had lost its neck before being used as a burial vessel. The skull and grave gifts lay high up along the south side of the pithos; according to D. J. Finkel, the single burial was that of a woman, c. 35 years of age, plus or minus 5 years, oriented

[3] Karataş-Semayük, near Elmali, Lycia: M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 73 (1969) 323, pl. 74, fig. 16, KA 701 N a,b; max. h.: 0.022 m.; two pairs were found, both with child burials. Yalincak-Kocumbeli, near Ankara: M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 70 (1966) 148. Karayavşan, between Polatli and Haymana: M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 70 (1966) 148. Alaca Hüyük: M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 73 (1969) 323 n. 10: Remzi Oğuz Arik, *Les fouilles d'Alaca Höyük 1935* (Ankara 1937), pl. CLXXIX, Al 317–348, from Tomb B. Yortan region, in H. Kocabaş Collection, Istanbul: M. J. Mellink, *AJA* 73 (1969) 324 n. 13: one pair, smaller than the ornaments from Karataş, and an example in stone. Mellink, *AJA* 73 (1969) 323–324, notes the widespread diffusion of this simple type of Early Bronze Age jewelry throughout much of Anatolia.

north–south in a flexed position, with head to south but facing east, a radical departure from the usual orientation of adult Early Bronze Age burials in the Gygean Lake region, with heads to east. The grave gifts included a brownware jug (P 69.38: 7976; h.: 0.16 m., diam.: 0.12 m.), a miniature black-burnished bowl with incurved rim (P 69.39: 7977; h.: 0.035 m., diam.: 0.116 m.), and a small black-burnished jug (P 69.40: 7978; h.: 0.09 m., diam.: 0.07 m.). Masses of freshwater clam shells were found both inside and immediately outside the pithos. In the rubble fill near the cover slab, but apparently not connected with the burial, was found the bottom part of a slab figurine of schist, in form like a silhouette cutout of a fat-buttocked "mother goddess" figurine (S 69.7: 7959; h.: 0.076 m., w.: 0.073 m.; coordinates: N-S 0 / E 3.50–3.75, c. 0.70–0.80 m. below surface, c. 1.00–1.10 m. below top of Marker A); the break is ancient (fig. 8).

Pithos EB 69.5 also lay on its side with mouth pointing east (S 0.50– N 0.50 / E 0–1.10; top of pithos 0.98 m. below top of Marker A; inner l.: 1.06 m., inner w.: 0.72 m.). The occupant, according to D. J. Finkel, was a male adult, aged c. 35, plus or minus 5 years, flexed and oriented with head to north, feet to south, and facing east. Three vessels were found in this pithos: a large oval-bodied, wide-spouted jug with mottled black and red fabric (P 69.41: 7979; h.: 0.185 m., body diam.: 0.13 m.), a poorly preserved miniature blackware vase (P 69.43: 7981; h.: 0.075 m., body diam.: 0.06 m., l. of pres. handle: 0.015 m.) with globular body, cylindrical neck and handle(s) on shoulder, and a small blackware tripod vessel with two lug handles and incised decoration around body and shoulder (P 69.42: 7980; h.: 0.075 m., diam.: 0.055 m.; fig. 9). The two little vessels lay together in the bottom of the pithos. The tripod vase is virtually identical to miniature vases from pithos burials in the Yortan-Balikesir region, and may have been imported from there.

The trial excavation of 1969 at Eski Balikhane demonstrates the potential contributions of this site to our understanding of the Early Bronze Age cultures of Lydia; it is hoped that further work on a larger scale to uncover more of the cemetery and expose part of the occupation site to which it belongs can be undertaken in the near future.

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SUMMARIES OF DISSERTATIONS FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D.

LYNDA GREGORIAN CHRISTIAN — Theatrum Mundi: *The History of an Idea*

OVER the last few decades, scholars have been interested in tracing the literary genetics of the commonplace that "all the world's a stage." In 1948 E. R. Curtius included a brief history of the transmission of the idea from classical antiquity to the present in his book *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter*. More recently, the Greek scholar Minos Kokolakis did a study of the appearance of the *topos* in classical and patristic literature in his lengthy monograph *The Dramatic Simile of Life* published in Athens in 1960. My dissertation drew upon the work of Curtius, Kokolakis, and others to describe the various configurations that the idea assumed during its long passage from Hellenistic philosophical literature through the literature and iconography of the mid-seventeenth century in Europe.

During the course of my research it became clear to me that there were two main lines of development of the idea. The first begins with Cynic statements that man must perform well whatever role Tyche assigns him. The second originates with the optimism of Plotinus, for whom the theater of the world is part of a beneficent universal order.

The early Stoics derived much of their philosophy from the Cynics, and we may attribute their fondness for the metaphor to their Cynic origins. Early Stoic writers stressed that the good man will impersonate either Thersites or Agamemnon with *apatheia*. Later Stoics (or writers greatly influenced by Stoicism) such as Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius insisted that the wise man will quit the last act of life's play with decorum and indifference. They also argued that beneficent Logos, not fickle Tyche, casts and directs the play of life.

The Cynic view of life as a play received its most extensive literary treatment in the satires of Lucian. In the *Necyomanteia*, for example, Menippus descends into Hades and realizes that he cannot distinguish Thersites from Agamemnon because the dead are all just grinning skeletons. Menippus then notes ruefully that human life is a pageant

8—H.S.C.P.

staged by Tyche. She dresses each man for his role and then strips him of his costume at the moment of death. In the grave all men are equal at last. Lucian anticipated the linking of the metaphor with patristic and medieval themes of *contemptus mundi* and *memento mori*.

Like Lucian, the Church Fathers used the metaphor to illustrate the vanity and hypocrisy of human life. The comparison of life to a play, however, was for them, as not for Lucian, a means of contrasting the unreality of human life to the awful reality of death and judgment. Chrysostom said that "when we come to the moment of death, having quit the theater of life, all masks . . . will be stripped away." In the twelfth century, the English humanist John of Salisbury gave to the *topos* a similar meaning in the third book of his *Policraticus*. For John, life is a pageant of folly and hypocrisy, a prelude to real life in God. John shows an awareness of Stoic interpretations of the idea as well; in 3.9 he states that this *theatrum mundi* is observed from on high by God, his angels, and "a few sages." This seems to be the first time this phrase — *theatrum mundi* — is used in European literature.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, writers continually link the metaphor to the Biblical theme of *vanitas vanitatum* and to the medieval tradition of the dance of death. Lucian's use of the *topos* is most influential, and writers of this period delight in Lucian's comparison of the king to a poor actor or slave dressed in borrowed finery. The most notable inheritors of the Lucianic tradition of the idea are Erasmus, Robert Burton, Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Calderón, all of whom see human life as a great stage of fools at times.

The second line of development of *theatrum mundi* begins with Plotinus' use of the figure in his tract "On Providence" (*Enneads* 3.2). Plotinus compared the inner man to an actor who remains untouched by the vicissitudes of life. Only the outer man, the "role" assumed by the inner man, is subject to Fate. In addition, Plotinus saw the metaphor as an image of reincarnation. The inner man may assume another role after he departs from the stage of life; death, therefore, does not end the play. Plotinus explained the evil in life as an unpleasant situation which Logos purposefully introduces into the plot of life's drama to fill it up. Beneficent Logos casts each man for his role, assigning each actor that part which most agrees with his essential nature.

When Marsilio Ficino translated Plotinus' essay into Latin in 1492, he had already translated the *Corpus hermeticum* in 1463. That compilation of Hellenistic mystery texts called man a proteus, capable of assuming infinite roles. Fate had no power over this god-like creature, who, through *gnosis*, was joined with the god he venerated. Ficino's interpre-

tation of the metaphor of the world as a stage in his own writings was influenced by the optimism of Plotinus and by the Hermetic view of man. The opening of Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man* and the extended theatrical metaphor of Juan-Luis Vives' *Fable about Man* illustrate how this optimistic view of man as actor permeated early humanist thought. Later writers of the sixteenth century, however, say that man's will and desires are protean; his performance on life's stage is that of an actor who has been deluded into believing that he is the god whom he portrays. By the early seventeenth century, the Plotinian tradition of the world as a theater has lost its vigor as the expression of a tension between man's protean will and his finite nature; at this point *theatrum mundi* becomes an expression of naive religious and philosophic optimism.

With the important exception of the writings of Pico della Mirandola and Juan-Luis Vives, the metaphor always implies that the role of man is predetermined. In the tradition of the Cynics, life is a great stage of fools. In the second tradition, the play of life is part of a larger, beneficent order. When Prospero in *The Tempest* says that "our little life / Is rounded with a sleep," he is speaking out of the Plotinian tradition. Death does not end the play of life; sleep merely rounds it. In the first tradition, death is the Great Unmasker, the violent climax to a short and sorry scene. How one interprets the end of the play of life is the main criterion by which one may judge to which tradition an author's use of *theatrum mundi* belongs. For Sir Walter Raleigh, the end of the play was not in doubt. He closed his famous madrigal "What is our Life?" with the ominous couplet:

> Thus march we playing to our latest rest,
> Only we die in earnest, that's no jest.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Comparative Literature 1969

HARDY HANSEN — *Aspects of the Athenian Law Code of 410/409–400/399 B.C.*

This thesis is concerned with the codification of the "laws of Solon" carried out by the board of ἀναγραφεῖς τῶν νόμων who held office from 410/409 to 405/404 and again from 403/402 to 400/399. The first chapter reconsiders the evidence for what they did during each term of office. The main literary sources are Lysias 30, Andokides 1, and the *Athenaion Politeia*; of potentially great importance, but very difficult to

interpret, are the few surviving fragments of the inscribed code itself, which originally consisted of at least two free-standing opisthographic walls within the Stoa Basileios and a set of stelai outside the Stoa. It has generally been assumed that the codification was interrupted by the rule of the Thirty and taken up again when the democrats returned to power; the second term has been viewed as a direct continuation of the first. An analysis of Lysias' and Andokides' statements, however, makes it clear that the code was virtually complete by the end of 405/404. The remarkable fact that one of the wall surfaces was at some time erased (except for a band along the top) and reinscribed with Ionic letters has caused much puzzlement. It is here suggested that during their second term the anagrapheis revised some of their own earlier work. They were not undoing the work of the Thirty: there is no evidence that the Thirty altered the new code significantly.

Τὰ ἱερά were an integral part of the code: an elaborate series of calendars listed sacrifices to be performed at public expense. Most of the surviving fragments of the walls come from these calendars. Of greatest interest is the systematic series of calendars inscribed across the erased surface: a list of Annual Sacrifices, two lists of Biennial Sacrifices, and so forth. This material has been studied in detail by J. H. Oliver, W. S. Ferguson, S. Dow, F. Sokolowski, and others, but no complete commentary yet exists. Chapter two deals with the elaborate set of rubrics by which the anagrapheis indicated the legal authority for each item listed in the systematic calendars. (Curiously, no such rubrics accompanied the similar material inscribed on the other wall surfaces.) The phrases chosen by the anagrapheis closely resemble phrases used by Lysias to cite legal authorities in his accusation of the anagrapheus (or nomothetes) Nikomakhos. Both use the preposition ἐκ; they could hardly have been referring to different things. It would appear that while Lysias cited generally the earlier documents called kyrbeis, the anagrapheis were more precise and cited divisions of the kyrbeis. In addition, both cited a separate group of stelai.

The next three chapters are commentaries on portions of the systematic series of calendars which survive on two stones (Fragment B = J. von Prott and L. Ziehen, *Leges graecorum sacrae* II¹, no. 16a = *IG* II², 1357b = *Hesp.* 1935. 24; Fragment C = *Hesp.* 1935. 21, no. 2 = F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, no. 10A); new texts are offered. Some light is shed on the ἑβδομαῖον, a monthly offering to Apollo, and on the Plynteria, in which the xoanon of Athena Polias, together with its peplos, was given its annual washing. It is suggested that the pharos mentioned in the calendar was not equivalent to the peplos offered to

Athena at the Greater Panathenaia but had a separate purpose, that of covering the statue before and after the washing ceremony. Finally, the additional sacrifices offered biennially before and during the annual Synoikia are discussed; the Old Attic Phylai and their Phylobasileis are seen to be celebrating less lavishly than before.

Chapter six attempts a new definition of the adjective λειπογνώμων, which occurs four times in the preserved portions of the calendars. The word has been thought to indicate a full-grown sacrificial victim, but the price of these animals is unusually small. Philological and biological evidence is marshaled in order to show that λειπογνώμονες were new-born rather than fully mature victims.

The last chapter examines anew the problem of the lost documents on which Solon's laws were first inscribed. Kyrbeis and axones may or may not have been the same thing; the evidence is ambiguous. All ancient testimonia known to the author are examined here, and more importantly they are fully sorted out: fifth- and fourth-century uses of the words κύρβις and ἄξων are distinguished from later, vague uses of the word κύρβις; ancient attempts to explain the meanings of the two words are treated separately. It is shown that the codification at the end of the fifth century changed the colloquial meaning of both words. No new theory about the shape of the kyrbeis is proposed, although notice is taken of interesting archaeological evidence. A new etymology linking the noun κύρβις with the verb κρύπτω is brought forward.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology   1969

WALTER MARTIN HAYES — *Greek Manuscript Tradition of (Ps.-) Basil's*
Adversus Eunomium *Books 4–5*

Adversus Eunomium 4–5 (there is no good manuscript authority for the division into two books) seems to lack unity, coherence, and emphasis. One-third of the text (book 4) deals with περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ. The latter two-thirds περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος seems unconnected. Each part is divided into unrelated chapters. Frequently enough a chapter consists simply of disparate two- or three-line syllogisms, parts of syllogisms, even one-line rejoinders to an adversary, without hint of his argument. The present text could appear to be an excerpted version of an earlier work, which itself may have been a loosely formed amalgam. Indeed, the eighth-century Syriac translation, Or. 8606, omits the treatise περὶ πνεύματος with which book 5 ends.

The sixth–seventh-century Syriac manuscript, Add. 17201, attributes the *Adversus Eunomium* excerpts, of which it is a translation, to Didymus

of Alexandria. Two ninth-century Greek manuscripts report serious doubt that Basil is author. Didymus, Apollinarius, and Amphilochius have been nominated by modern scholars.

Yet Timothy Aelurus, A.D. 460, quotes the text and ascribes it to Basil, and through Severus, Ephraem, Theodosius, Leontius, Justinian, the *Doctrina Patrum*, Synod of Seville, Lateran Council, and Syriac Or. 8606 there is a steady tradition of quotation and translation of this work, which is always ascribed to Basil of Caesarea.

What, then, precisely do the Greek manuscripts tell us about composition and date?

There are fifty-seven manuscript witnesses to *Adversus Eunomium* 4–5, including excerpts, fragments, and full texts, ranging from the eighth to the sixteenth century. The earliest thirty of these, down to the thirteenth century, firmly set the family traditions, which the *recentiores* follow.

Two manuscript families appear: alpha (MLNRP) and beta (VDCGB). Within them subgroups LR, VC, DGB, and GB emerge. Two early recensions become apparent: that of OA related to the traditions of L and GB, and that of EF and the Greek exemplar of Or. 8606, deriving from the traditions of R and VC. *Contaminatio* is clearest in the traditions of D, P, and R.

The earliest witnesses who quote *Adversus Eunomium* 4–5 all show readings in substantial agreement with the manuscripts and thus confirm the antiquity of our text. In addition, quotations by Aelurus indicate that his text already shared an error of the subfamily VC. Severus, A.D. 520, clearly had a text in the VDCGB tradition. The Greek exemplar of Add. 17201 points to the subgroup GB. *Doctrina Patrum* belongs to the tradition of manuscript D, against GB, VC, and MLNRP.

All 2,283 (Migne) lines of the text (with the exception of eight lines added by Or. 8606, VDCGB, and the excerpts $T^{1-7, \ 9-10.}$) comprised the text in almost exactly their present word order before A.D. 520, with Severus. And, since Aelurus presents us with a subgroup of the beta family, whatever is to be said about *Adversus Eunomium* 4–5, its authenticity, and its composition, discussion must henceforth limit itself to the years before A.D. 460.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology   1969

JOHN H. MORE — *The* Fabri Tignarii *of Rome*

The *fabri tignarii* or builders were an important segment of the artisans of Rome. Relatively little is known of their business activities except

for the buildings which they left behind, but there do exist a significant number of inscriptions pertaining to their *collegium*, which was the largest in Rome. The impetus for this study of their college comes from two documents not known to the authors of previous treatments in Pauly–Wissowa and *Dizionario epigrafico* — a fragment of its *fasti* found in the Church of Santa Prassede and part of an imperial rescript from the excavations of the area around the Church of Sant' Omobono, both published in 1939.

A review of the meager history of the builders and their college in the Republic and a discussion of the *lex Iulia de collegiis* form the substance of the first chapter. It is probable that their association had had a fairly long existence before it is first securely attested in connection with the disturbances of the last century of the Republic. Although at that time members may have joined Clodius' gangs or engaged in other political activities, Linderski's examination of the pertinent texts indicates that their *collegium* was never disbanded, but was one of the *pauca et certa* preserved because of their *utilitas* ("Der Senat und die Vereine," *Gesellschaft und Recht im griechisch-römischen Altertum: Eine Aufsatzsammlung* [1968] 95ff).

Thirty-eight inscriptions connected with the *fabri tignarii* of Rome are collected with corrections and notes in the second chapter. They include four new ones, two previously assigned to Ostia (*CIL* XIV 2630 and *CIL* VI 148 = XIV 5), and a group belonging to members of the *familia* of the Statilii Tauri and to other individual builders, neglected by Waltzing (*Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles*, vol. 4). The previously published texts of the Santa Prassede *fasti* and the Sant' Omobono rescript are improved and clarified. In the case of the former, restorations and identifications of *magistri* are made with those in *CIL* XIV 2630: T. Flavius T. l. Hilario and *CIL* VI 9034: Claudius Aug. lib. Onesimus.

An important problem for the Roman *fabri tignarii* is the date of the foundation or refoundation of their college. Since Hülsen's restoration of the name of P. Cornelius Thallus, a *quinquennalis* of the builders in an inscription whose provenance is disputed (*CIL* VI 148 = XIV 5), the *fasti* of an unnamed Roman college found on the Palatine (*CIL* VI 10299) have been assigned to them. The twenty-seventh *lustrum* of this *collegium* coincides with the ten *consules ordinarii* of A.D. 124–128, and the date of its foundation falls in 7 B.C. The third chapter supports this position against the opinion of Degrassi (*Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII 1, no. 33), based upon a contradictory date of A.D. 13 to 26 provided by a dedication by the *magistri* of the twenty-third *lustrum* to Sabina Augusta

(her title indicates that it was erected between A.D. 128 and 136). This inscription is shown to present no difficulties, since it is a later rededication with the empress's name written into an erasure. Dessau's attribution of Thallus to Ostia (*CIL* VI 148 = *XIV* 5 = *ILS* 3776) is no obstacle to the restoration of his name, since the provenance of the inscription is uncertain and the *decuriones* mentioned are not necessarily municipal. Finally, the difference in form of the Santa Prassede and Palatine *fasti* can be paralleled in the *alba* of the college.

The rest of the chapter compares the Santa Prassede *fasti* with the *fasti Antiates* and *fasti magistrorum vici* to suggest that a list of the *consules ordinarii* from 7 B.C. on was originally inscribed in the missing two-thirds of the inscription. Its title is tentatively restored as [*fasti collegi fabrum ti*]*gnariorum*, although it has no direct parallel.

An examination of the builders' names in chapter 4 reveals a significant proportion of freedmen and men of freedman origin. Since no slaves appear in any of the college's inscriptions, it is probable that they were able to join after they had attained their freedom. Of special interest are the *liberti* among the *magistri* listed in the Santa Prassede *fasti* connected with the emperors and other influential families of the early Empire. There are four imperial freedman: a T. Flavius T. lib. Hilario of the Flavian period; T. Statilius L. l. Chrestus, who is to be linked to other builders in the *familia* of the Statilii Tauri; a Q. Caecilius Q. l. Hilario and three others; a Cn. Pompeius Cn. l. Evangelus; a Sex. Appuleius Sex. l. Primigenius; add two Sentii, Saturninus and Cn. Maximus, whose origins are probably freedmen. In addition, the large number of rare *gentilicia* found among the builders parallels the non-Roman origins of much of her artisan class.

A restudy of the organization of the *collegium fabrum tignariorum* of Rome, based on the newly found and newly attributed inscriptions, reveals the complexity that its large size demanded. The voting assembly was not the whole body, but the *decuriones* and *honorati*, the latter defined as ex-*magistri*. The career of Flavius Hilario, which is attested more fully than is usually the case in Roman colleges (*CIL* XIV 2630), provides the basis for a discussion of the role of the customary offices of a *collegium* — *decurio*, *magister quinquennalis*, and *honoratus* — and unusual ones — *nungentus ad subfragia*, *censor ad magistros creandos*, and *iudexs inter electos XII ab ordine*. The last post seems to be connected with the surprising mention of a *magister* who was removed from office (*summotus* in the Santa Prassede *fasti*); the large size of the builders' college must have required a special "judge." Examination of another reason for the replacement of a president found in the same inscription

(*excusatus*) leads to the conclusion that it was a release from the burden-some duties of office which also honored the recipient. The absence of *patroni* for this important college is explained by the fact that it would have been unwise for the imperial administration to allow such a large body to have ties to private individuals in the capital.

The finding of the imperial rescript and two inscriptions in the area of Sant' Omobono and the dedication to Fortuna in one of them and in another (*CIL* VI 3678) suggest that the *schola* of the builders was in or near one of the two temples excavated there, a section of the Forum Boarium. Other inscriptions of the builders to Asclepius, Fides, and Hercules Invictus can be linked to temples in this same region, and a relief from an altar found in the nearby Forum Holitorium should be attributed to the *fabri tignarii* (A. M. Colini, *Capitolium* 12 [1947] 21ff). The scene is a workshop of carpenters making furniture, another activity of the *fabri tignarii*, although not their most important one for Rome.

The final chapter discusses the public role of the builders in Rome, showing that references to the public utility of the *fabri* in the *Digest* and *Codes* also concern the *fabri tignarii*. Ambrosino's belief that the latter was a division of the former group is refuted (*Bull. Com. Arch.* 67 [1939] 98ff). Differences in the terminology arise from the nature of the documents, one legal and the other epigraphical. There is no evidence for the sort of large-scale interference in the affairs of the colleges in the early Empire by the imperial administration, which Ambrosino's theory would require. Finally, the distribution of *fabri* and *fabri tignarii* throughout the Empire is random and does not show the former appearing only in smaller cities where there were not enough artisans to form individual colleges.

Connections between the college of builders and their imperial employers are revealed through the person of Claudius Aug. l. Onesimus, a *magister* and a *redemptor operum Caesaris*. An examination of the role of the builders as fire-fighters suggests a link between them and the *vigiles* in Rome, at least when the latter were first organized in 7 B.C. It is possible that they continued to play some part, since there is evidence for it at the end of the Empire.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology   1969

CATHERINE I. REID — *Diodoros and His Sources*

The problem of how Diodoros composed his monumental Βιβλιοθήκη Ἱστορική has exercised students of history and historiography for well

over a hundred years. Ever since the scientific historians of the nineteenth century began to realize that Diodoros' work was not the uniform and consistent product of one man's researches and judgement, scholars have laboured to identify the historical works that he took as his principal sources, and to discover as precisely as possible how he used them. Since many, if not most, of the works to which Diodoros may have had access have now perished, leaving behind only small fragments and often problematic testimonia, Diodoran scholarship has had no easy course. But some of the traditions reproduced in the *Bibliotheke* have been fairly certainly identified, and a tendency to "slavish dependence" on his source of the moment has been detected in parts of Diodoros' work. Historians have reacted gratefully to these fruits of *Quellenkritik* by assuming in general that any statement of historical fact which does not involve an inference from Diodoros' very confused and confusing chronological system can be treated in practice as a statement by the author whom he was following at that point. In recent years, however, the publication of Jonas Palm's monograph, *Ueber Sprache und Stil des Diodor von Sizilien* (Lund Glerup, 1955), suggested to some scholars the advisability of reexamining the evidence for Diodoros' historical method. For in that work Palm took the unusual course of treating the *Bibliotheke* as a literary work having some unity, and its author as an individual with a certain style and outlook of his own; and he was able to show that Diodoros' language and style remained more or less the same throughout, not changing appreciably at the places where he was supposed to have switched sources.

This thesis sets forth the result of one part of that reexamination. The investigation which it records focussed chiefly on the so-called Ephoran books (11–15) of the *Bibliotheke*. In addition, it set out to explore fully the implications of the important papyrological evidence which has come to light since the formulation of the traditional opinion.

An introductory chapter setting forth the problem is followed by a thorough analysis of Diodoros' relationship to Polybios, this being, as most scholars have recognized, the best and most detailed evidence we have for his method of treating sources. Chapter 3 passes on to examine critically the generally accepted opinion that Ephoros' history was the sole narrative source of books 11–15 of the *Bibliotheke*. It appears that the weight of evidence strongly favours the traditional view, although not all the arguments originally advanced have stood the test of time. Furthermore, a detailed examination of certain parts of the "Ephoran" books shows that Diodoros' source apparently did not always arrange his narrative according to the scheme usually postulated for Ephoros.

Chapter 4 deals with the relationship of Diodoros to the *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia*. It has never been disputed that Diodoros' account of Greek history in the late fifth and early fourth centuries goes back ultimately to the Oxyrhynchus history. But the question whether he himself knew the original work, or got his knowledge of it only at second hand through Ephoros, was for a long time confused by being treated as one of many subsidiary arguments advanced in the dispute about the authorship of the *Hellenika*. Now that the dust of much of this controversy has settled, and the possible solutions have been reduced to two (either Kratippos or an unknown), it is possible to examine the Diodoros question afresh in its own right. It appears that the traditional view (that Diodoros knew only Ephoros' reworking of the Oxyrhynchus history) is the more likely, although, if this is accepted, some adjustment may be required in the general conception of how Ephoros arranged his work.

Chapter 5 is a discussion of *POxy* 1610, the so-called Ephoros papyrus. An attempt is made to consider Diodoros' relationship to the papyrus separately from the question of its authorship, since a confusion of these two aspects of the problem has often led to flagrantly circular argumentation, as well as to some erroneous restoration of the papyrus fragments. On the first point, it is plain that Diodoros did make substantial use of the work to which these fragments belong, although the closeness with which he followed it has frequently been exaggerated. As for the author of the papyrus work, probability certainly favours Ephoros, but no conclusive argument can be made.

The final chapter summarizes the impression of Diodoros' method gained from a study of his relationship to all these different parts of the historical tradition behind the *Bibliotheke*. This accords well with the conclusion of Palm, and suggests that historians should perhaps be a little more cautious than they have sometimes been about assuming that Diodoros invariably reproduces with the fidelity of a copyist the record he found in his sources.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology   1969

JOHN GREENWAY HALL — *Visualization and Resolution of Tension in Lucretius*' De Rerum Natura

Little attention has generally been given by commentators on Lucretius to the role played by visualization in his way of thought. This study

therefore attempts a careful examination of the topic to determine how visualization is demonstrated by Lucretius and to what purpose.

In part 1 several notably ambivalent and tension-developing subjects are discussed: the search for permanence involving concepts of fixity, change, and sequential action; the opposition between motion and rest, and between birth and death; the concept of boundary or limit and the way boundaries are maintained or overcome; and the way nature in general sustains or frustrates things. These subjects reflect tensions which are inherent in Epicurean atomism, and which are seen particularly in definitions of atoms and void, and of the principle of motion as the basic force in the universe. Conflict and opposition of some kind are therefore inevitable. Man is also clearly a part of this conflict, and Lucretius shows this fact by his use of *mens*, *animus*, and *ratio* in relation to social, ethical, and religious matters.

In part 2 Lucretius' approach to these topics is taken up in an analysis of his use of poetry and of his basic way of thought, visualization itself. The tensions of poetic form and language enable Lucretius and his readers to comprehend universal atomic actions and tensions. To do so fully, some means of relating theory and experience must be found. For Lucretius this means was visualization of atomic processes and principles in action. Visualization is first defined, and then themes and motifs are discussed which show this approach throughout the poem: the connection between seeing, knowing, and thinking; awe and wonder at the atomic world; light and dark imagery; illustrations as proofs; paradoxes of perception; argument by polarity and analogy. In all of these themes, and in the previous topics of conflict, care is taken to note the connotations and overtones of Lucretius' language.

The visualizing themes and motifs are next (in part 3) related to the tension-filled topics discussed in part 1. Each of the topics of ambivalence and conflict is treated by Lucretius in several visualized modes. The result is that visualization enables him to unite apparently diverse subjects by revealing their underlying basic reality, atoms in motion. Visualization resolves tensions into their atomic causes: no further resolution is possible because basic atomic action implies logical necessity. If one would see this atomic realm as Lucretius saw it, the false fears and emotions men often take refuge in should disappear. However many problems Epicurean atomism contained, or whatever criticism was aimed at it, Lucretius was confident in his visualized universe. Visualization was for him the way to understand and demonstrate atomic theory.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology   1970

DENNIS MERLE KRATZ — *Classical Tradition and Originality in Latin Epic Poetry*

This study of Latin epic poetry composed from the Carolingian Renaissance through the end of the eleventh century has two main themes: the influence of classical models on medieval epic poets, and the originality of these poets in adapting the classical epic tradition for the expression of Christian ideals.

The dissertation has three main divisions. In section 1, I discuss the three classical poems — Vergil's *Aeneid*, Lucan's *Bellum Civile*, and the *Thebaid* by Statius — which exerted the greatest influence on medieval epic. The *Aeneid* stands at the source of the medieval epic tradition. For although Vergil himself imitates other poets, especially Homer and Ennius, none of his models was known in the Middle Ages. In this first section, I define the epic tradition in terms of certain elements of form and content found in the *Aeneid* and imitated by Statius and Lucan. Traditional features of epic form include the invocation, proposition, and simile. Vergil also makes use of such narrative themes as the storm, banquet, hunt, and battle. Of these, only the hunt is omitted by Lucan and Statius. Classical battle episodes often include the motif of the catalogue and tend to focus on individual combats. Another motif of classical epic is the ekphrasis, which takes the form of either an extended narrative digression or the description of a work of art. After thus examining these common elements of classical epic, I turn briefly to three patristic epics (by Juvencus, Sedulius, and Prudentius) to show the nature of three influential early attempts to transform epic into a genre of Christian literature.

In section 2, I examine the influence of these models on eighteen medieval epics. The subject matter of these poems includes historical narratives, animal fables, saints' lives, heroic legends, and an allegorical presentation of the Christian world myth. I analyze each epic from the standpoint of its use of the conventions of form and content discussed in section 1. The nature of the imitation of their models by the medieval poets, whom I discuss, varies widely. The three works most highly imitative of classical epic are *Waltharius* (s. ix), the *Gesta Berengarii* (s. x) and Eupolemius' *Messiad* (s. xi). The other extreme is represented by the *Ruodlieb* (s. xi), which has only a tenuous relation to the classical epic tradition.

In section 3, I turn to the question of the originality displayed by four poets in their adaptation of an essentially pagan genre for Christian purposes. Heiric of Auxerre (s. ix) experiments with the form more than

the content of epic. He bases the structure of his *Vita s. Germani* on a symbolic interpretation of the number six. He explains this symbolism in a lyric *praefatio* to the last of the poem's six books. Heiric composed seven of these prefaces, in which he experiments with a variety of lyric meters.

Hroswitha of Gandersheim (s. x), in her historical narrative based on the life of Otto I, eschews most of the traditional features of an epic poem. She seems to have recognized the basic incompatibility of classical models with her purpose, the description of the ideal Christian ruler. This recognition led her to use the Biblical David as the model for her hero instead of a figure from classical èpic. Like David, Otto is said to receive his strength from God's favor. Yet he takes no pleasure in the victories which this divine favor assures him. Rather he mourns the deaths of allies and foes alike. In the aftermath of victory, he is merciful and forgiving to his enemies.

The *Waltharius* also represents an attempt to Christianize epic. Walter's renunciation of pride and his compassion for his fallen enemies add a new dimension, derived from Christianity, to epic heroism. I propose that it was an original contribution of the poet (a monk named Gerald) to the Germanic legend of Walter, to make the theme of greed central to the story. The Germanic legend probably included Walter's theft of treasure from the Huns when he escaped. But to this deed Gerald adds an opprobrium not originally connected with it. He makes Gunther attack Walter in order to gain this treasure; moreover, he criticizes the *avaritia* of both men. Thus it can be inferred that Walter might not have been attacked, had he not stolen the treasure in the first place.

One quality which separates the *Ruodlieb* from all other Latin epics is the sheer wealth of material from outside the classical epic tradition of which it makes use. Of particular importance is the poet's use of material from folk and fairy tales, as well as the poem's realistic background based on the poet's observations of contemporary life. The central character, Ruodlieb, represents another attempt to define Christian heroism. The poet emphasizes Ruodlieb's gentleness and devotion to peace. He is a humble man who thirsts for wisdom; and because of his noble qualities and good deeds, God grants him great honors.

I believe that the Latin epic poetry composed between the ninth and eleventh centuries deserves more attention than it has heretofore received. In particular, the *Waltharius, Ruodlieb*, and *Gesta Ottonis* contain imaginative and, to some degree, successful attempts to create a new Christian definition of epic heroism, in which mercy and humility replace ven-

geance and pride as standards of behavior. Moreover, these poems place in sharp relief a vital dilemma not only of medieval epic, but of all literature: how to create an original work without rejecting completely the influences, and the lessons, of the past.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Medieval Latin   1970

TIMOTHY MAURICE MURPHY — *Early Stoic Teleology*

All too often in reconstructions of early Stoicism an unjustified unanimity has been ascribed to Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus. Such is the case with regard to the teleological aspects of their respective physical systems. Considered in this thesis are their varying conceptions of the nature of the agency by which the world is organized and administered, the means by which its purposes are achieved, and the resulting picture of the interrelation of the various parts of the world. Their reinterpretations of the traditional mythological and cultic religion are treated to the extent that they are relevant.

The problem of sources must be of prime importance to the student of early Stoic teleology. In this connection an extensive analysis of Philo's *De providentia* and of the second book of Cicero's *De natura deorum* has been undertaken with the conclusion that, in the main, these presentations both reflect the early Stoa. Additionally, an attempt has been made to demonstrate that the distinctive teleological theories of Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus are each represented in the exposition of the Stoic position contained in the latter work.

Zeno is the subject of the first chapter. He conceived of the organization and administration of the world as a function of the properties of a certain kind of substance. By permeating the other substances it acted on them to produce the various entities and transformations characteristic of the world and its processes. Zeno did not identify this substance with pneuma but with the element fire. Nor did he account for differentiation by postulating qualitative grades in the creative fire but maintained the universal homogeneity of the ruling substance. The conception of the activity of this element as craftsmanlike was central to Zeno's teleology. This aspect of the creative fire, coupled with its universal extension, is seen as the amalgamation of the Peripatetic view of nature with the Platonic conceptions of the demiurge and world soul. The disposition of the world was not anthropocentric. Zeno rather considered the activity of nature as guaranteeing the characteristic development of each individual such that the best disposition of the whole results.

The second chapter is concerned with Cleanthes. The essential difference between his picture of the teleological arrangement of the world and that of Zeno is that the providential agency was not immanent but located in the heavens. The world was pictured as administered by the stars, among which the sun had preeminence because of its size and indestructibility. Their hegemony was a result of the fact that they alone consisted totally of the purest type of that fire which in man accounted for reason and perception. The fire comprising the region of the stars was not totally pure, but more so than that in the region of the air. The probabilities are that Cleanthes postulated the existence of invisible creatures, or demons, in the fiery and aerial parts of the aither whose natures corresponded to the varying qualities of fire present in this area. Men occupied the third place in the hierarchy, and beneath them were the other terrestrial creatures. The relative positions of the various grades of being were determined by both the quality of their fire and the degree of its intermixture with other substances. The *Hymn to Zeus* is interpreted with reference to these features of Cleanthes' physics in support of the contention that Zeus is intelligible as the sun. In conclusion, there is an extensive discussion of the close relationship between Cleanthes' system and that represented in the *Epinomis* and, to some extent, in Aristotle's *De philosophia*.

The third chapter, the first of two dealing with Chrysippus, is an exposition of his doctrine of pneuma. Chrysippus was the first of the Stoics to assign a significant cosmological role to pneuma. The function of pneuma in his system is very similar to that of fire in Zeno's, though the scientific underpinning is much more developed. Pneuma permeated the world and ensured its interconnection, unity, and best disposition. The doctrine of the immanence of pneuma was buttressed by a theory of mixture establishing the possibility of the total permeation of one substance by another with no consequent loss by either substance of its distinctive characteristics.

The creative and sustaining activity of pneuma was attributed to the interaction resulting from the combination of fire and air, its two constituent elements. This process, tonos, consisted of the perpetual inhibition of the outward movement of fire by the contrary tendency of air. The result is a twofold progressing and returning movement over a limited area such that a kind of tension occurs. The outward movement is responsible for size and quality, the returning movement for unity and existence. While the mechanics of tonos are everywhere similar and define the nature of pneumatic activity, the variability of the proportional relation of the constituent elements accounts for individual and

class differentiation. Allowing for individual variations in each class, Chrysippus assigned entities on the basis of their constitutive pneumata to the categories of simple cohesion, nature, and mind. The highest class, mind, is that in which the pneumata are characterized by the greatest preponderance of fire over air. This occurs to the greatest extent possible in the highest being, the world's ruling principle which is located in the aither. However, the conception of individual and class differentiation as a function of the proportional variation of the elements constituting the various pneumata is inconsistent with the unifying cosmological role assigned to the substance of pneuma as a whole. In relation to the world, Chrysippus assigned pneuma a uniformity which with respect to individuals and classes he effectively denied. Chrysippus' doctrine of first principles is discussed and found to refer not to any fixed substantial identities of the active and passive principles, but rather to the permanence of the active-passive dynamic, whatever, in any given instance, the substantial identities might be. The importance of determining the nature of the permanent substance necessitated consideration of Chrysippus' conception of the ekpyrosis. The conclusion is that this substance must have been that of the eternal world soul, or the highest possible grade of pneuma.

Building on this reconstruction of Chrysippus' cosmology, the fourth chapter analyzes his doctrine of providence. As a preliminary, the relation of his theology to his theory of pneuma is discussed and their mutual consistency demonstrated. He conceived of providence in its primary sense as the activity of the immortal world soul which brings about the fulfillment of its purposes in an analogous fashion to that by which the human mind secures the manipulation of limbs and objects in the accomplishment of its intentions. But as providence is eminently a capacity of mind it can also be considered in a significant, though derivative and secondary, sense as exercised by the other entities of which mind is characteristic, man and the star gods. By this means Chrysippus integrated into his system Cleanthes' conception of providence as the activity of the stars. He drew the further conclusion that the organization of the world was primarily for the benefit of gods and men, or those beings possessed of the highest type of pneuma.

Because Chrysippus insisted that everything happened according to providence he was forced to meet the attacks of those who had urged as contrary cases the existence of evil, natural catastrophes, and so forth. His rebuttals were highly unsystematic and contradictory. The two major arguments, that based on the distinction between the primary purposes of providence and their inevitable secondary results and that

demonstrating the sole sufficiency of virtue for happiness, were unsatisfactory in that they assumed contradictory valuations of externals. The third approach, that of justifying individual phenomena seemingly anomalous with an assumption of providence, resulted often in the use of manifest sophistries applied, regardless of consistency, on an ad hoc basis in the interests of a specious plausibility.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology   1970

ANDREW RAMAGE — *Studies in Lydian Domestic and Commercial Architecture at Sardis*

A summary of the Lydian architectural remains is presented first, together with those finds which help to date the structures or to give indications of usage. A second part offers a synthesis of the evidence, where general conclusions are drawn concerning the layout of the city, usage of buildings, and their plans. A brief historical and topographical introduction describes the physical condition of the areas with Lydian remains cleared during the current series of excavations at Sardis. Plans and photographs accompany each description.

The area Pactolus North, situated on the north bank of the river, which formed part of the town center (Hdt. 5.101f), gives important evidence for house building and layout from the late seventh century B.C. until the destruction of Sardis by Antiochus III in 213 B.C., when the buildings were systematically razed. Besides the domestic remains, an altar of Cybele with its precinct and a nearby industrial area for the refining of gold are described (the process and some of the finds are further described in an appendix).

Another important area is the House of Bronzes–Lydian Trench, which in its heyday was a mixed commercial and residential area consisting of one-room units, many of which were joined together by curtain-walling to form an enclosed "bazaar." Although particular buildings may have been renewed or added at intervals, an overall singleness of purpose is apparent and reinforced by recent discoveries of units in close alignment with one another.

In part 2, concerned with building and planning, the construction techniques are examined first. Wall-building is found to belong to a tradition using only mudbrick or pisé on a stone socle. No traces of structural timber have been found, and foundation trenches are not used. The most frequent material for the socle is medium-sized riverstone (0.20–0.25 m. long). Ashlar masonry has not been found in domestic buildings, although occasionally one finds worked fieldstone at the

corners. The fine masonry of built chamber tombs and of a platform on the north side of the Acropolis is contrasted with the humble construction of the domestic buildings.

The most common widths for socles are 0.30, 0.45, 0.60 m., but there is no uniform height at which the mudbrick walls began. Some individual mudbricks have been found in situ; the standard size is 0.40 × 0.25 × 0.08–0.10 m., although some of 0.40 × 0.40 m. have been found. An appendix on Lydian measurement suggests that the Lydian "foot" was c. 0.295 m. and that it may have been divided into thirds and sixths as well as halves and quarters.

Although clear evidence of doors is uncommon, since stone threshold slabs were not used, the openings are frequently about 0.60 m. or 0.90 m. wide. Roofs were probably gabled and thatched with reeds, as Herodotus records, but the use of gaily painted tiles, which produce a decorative scheme of red and white diamonds with black stripes, is attested for the sixth century. Internal furnishings are discussed: the Lydians used clay benches and stone-built storage compartments within the houses.

Much of the interpretation of structure or usage is reinforced by considering analogous buildings in the modern village of Sart Mustafa, of which a short general account is presented. The sites of Old Smyrna and Gordion are examined for comparable ancient remains, and the very close correspondence between tiles and architectural terracottas at Sardis and Gordion is noted and drawn upon for a reconstruction.

Three distinct kinds of plan have been distinguished: (1) a single-room dwelling or shop; (2) two-room units in which a pair of rooms open onto a courtyard; and (3) a loose agglomeration of three or more units around a courtyard; the one example of the last type, which may have been a farmhouse, is several miles from Sardis.

The planning of the city was quite loose; individual areas with their own logic take precedence over an integrated plan. There is evidence for communal services in the distribution of water in channels and a formalized well house. Industry seems to have been centered in the "Lydian Bazaar" where bronze-working and pottery-making were carried on; other industries seem to have been more domestic. A separation between urban and rural life is inferred from the closely set houses in the town which have no provision for the housing of animals or farmers' equipment. The layout of the town was centered on the Pactolus rather than the Acropolis. It is argued that the older parts of the city were near the ἱερόν of Cybele, whose site is not known but is likely to have been close to the Temple of Artemis.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Archaeology   1970

ROBERT HOWARD RODGERS — *Petri Diaconi* Ortus et uita iustorum
cenobii Casinensis: *Introduction, Text and Commentary*

The most learned inhabitant of Monte Cassino in the twelfth century
was Peter the Deacon — an enigmatic personality, mentally unbalanced
and desperately concerned to revive the prestige of his ancient abbey.
Closely linked to all the important figures in Monte Cassino of the
twelfth century, his writings have left a significant mark on the subse-
quent history of the abbey. Peter was brought to Monte Cassino as a
puer oblatus about 1115 and was educated in the abbey school; after a
brief exile in the 1120s he returned to Monte Cassino and served as
librarian and archivist of the monastery until his death (after 1154).

The *Ortus et uita*, one of Peter's earlier works, marks an interesting
stage in the evolution of his writings toward the complex fantasies of his
mature years. The work was composed as a catalogue of the saintly
figures in the history of Monte Cassino, and included with some sixty
shorter chapters are four substantially longer items which Peter had
written earlier as separate *Vitae* (a fifth was later added at the end of the
work). On the basis of these longer chapters and the entry of this title
in Peter's earliest autobiography, the *Ortus et uita* can be dated to about
1136; it was meant as a complement to the *Liber de uiris illustribus* which
Peter had taken over from his teacher Guido. A number of additions
were made at the end of the work, after the main part of the text had
been completed; these additions clearly belong to a short period (about
1136–1137) during which Peter's handwriting was rapidly evolving. The
longer lives are included in Peter's later hagiographical work, the *Regis-
trum S. Placidi*, an elaborate dossier in which he expanded the accounts
of particular "saints" (especially Placidus) by adding "contemporary
evidence" and spurious documents. Autograph corrections in the text
of the *Ortus et uita* were sometimes made in light of the "new" texts
(really Peter's forgeries) contained in the *Registrum S. Placidi*.

An investigation of Peter's sources shows that he used for the most
part well-known historical and hagiographical works. Even for a medi-
eval author, his work is remarkably unoriginal, and he copies largely
verbatim — even from glosses and chapter headings. Save for a few
chapters vaguely written in the conventional hagiographical style and
treating of figures whom Peter knew as a youth, every chapter has been
based on a written source. Thus we can be sure that the passage argued
to have been an interpolation made by Peter into the text of Amatus'
Historia Normannorum was in fact copied from Amatus and inserted
into the appropriate chapter of the *Ortus et uita*. Sources not previously

identified are Iohannes Diaconus, *Vita Gregorii*, and Petrus Damiani, *Vita Romualdi*. Of classical texts, Peter quotes from Tacitus' *Agricola*, Varro's *De lingua latina* (a text preserved for us in the very manuscript which Peter used), and Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*.

An autograph manuscript (Codex Casinensis 361) has been used for the first time in the preparation of the entire text of the *Ortus et uita*. Collation with the text of Codex Vat. lat. 6299 (published by A. Mai in 1832 and reproduced in Migne) reveals a significant number of abbreviations in the printed text and a number of places where the published text represents a contamination with the revisions made by Peter for his *Registrum S. Placidi*. The commentary is primarily concerned with identification of Peter's sources and with a discussion of his literary methods. There are three appendices. The first deals with the "table of contents" found at the beginning of the text, but written by Peter only when the work was substantially completed. The second provides a conspectus of sources, with a list of extant manuscripts used by Peter. In the third is given a discussion of the *Vita S. Aldermarii* found as the final chapter of the *Ortus et uita* but copied by Peter from an anonymous writer probably of the eleventh century.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Mediaeval Latin   1970

FRED SCHREIBER — *The Manuscripts of the Servian Commentary on Georgics I*

Anyone wishing to consult the Commentary of Servius on Virgil for any portion of the *Eclogues* or *Georgics* must still have recourse to Thilo's edition (Leipzig 1880–1887), whose inadequacy has long been recognized. Before the eagerly awaited publication of *Editio Harvardiana* I, by G. P. Goold, which will contain this portion of the Servian Commentary, it has been deemed appropriate and useful to make some preliminary remarks concerning the character and relationship of the manuscript sources, for both S and DS, of part of this text. I have based my observations on full collations, from facsimiles, of fifteen manuscripts, including all those utilized by Thilo for the *Georgics*.

For the *Georgics*, additional non-Servian scholia are found in two manuscripts only: Leidensis Voss. 80 (formerly known as the Lemovicensis) = L, and Vaticanus 3317 = V. While the latter contains the Commentary for the entire text of the *Georgics*, the former is extant only as far as *Georgics* 1.278, a fact which contributed greatly to the choice of *Georgics* I as the basis for the present investigation, in that it is the

only book for which we have *additamenta* in both manuscripts (for the *Eclogues*, V contains only the Servian text, without any additional material, DS or otherwise).

A thorough analysis of both the form and content of the extra comments of V (= the *Scholia Vaticana*) has led me to challenge the commonly accepted notion that, for the *Georgics*, V is a representative of the DS tradition. An ancestor of V for the text of the Commentary on the *Georgics* bore the Servian text in whose margins were made additions drawn from various sources, including DS. In a subsequent recension these marginalia were incorporated into the fabric of the Servian text, a fact which is evidenced by several features peculiar to the *Scholia Vaticana*, notably by the manner in which *additamenta* are joined onto the Servian comments: it seems to have remained hitherto unnoticed that the use of the formula *et aliter* for this purpose, as well as the use of lemmata, follow a strict and consistent scheme.

This scheme, incidentally, may assist us, to a significant extent, in isolating textual corruptions, glosses, and interpolations in the *Scholia Vaticana*. Among the interpolations thus isolated, several may be shown to be interpolations in appearance only, and, upon closer inspection, are revealed as original Servian readings which have dropped out of the S archetype to be preserved by V alone.

This last observation, along with other peculiarities of V, would seem to indicate that the basis of Servian text of this manuscript (σ) preserves a variety of text independent of the two main branches of the S tradition ($\beta\gamma$), as well as of their common archetype (α). It may also be shown that σ, on the *Georgics*, has been highly contaminated by γ, which has itself been contaminated by DS (although there does not seem to exist a direct connection between σ and DS, as has been found in the Commentary on the *Aeneid*).

The Servian text of L, likewise, gives evidence of being independent of all the other witnesses, in that it alone preserves the true reading more often than any other manuscript, and also supplies the text in places where all other manuscripts exhibit lacunas.

In dealing with the pure Servian manuscripts, I have paid particular attention to the β^ι branch, especially to manuscripts J and K of that branch. Both of these descend from a common hypothetical ancestor, which I call κ. κ had suffered various losses, which are reflected in JK, including that of a quaternion extending from *Georgics* 4.103 to *Aeneid* 1.4. The text of κ had been contaminated by a representative of the DS tradition, and traces of this influence are still observable in J and K — but much more pronouncedly in the latter. I conclude that K is a direct

copy of κ, while J descends from κ through another hypothetical inter-mediary which I call λ.

My corrections and additions to Thilo's text and apparatus are added in an appendix.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology   1970

PETER M. SMITH — *The Shape of Becoming: Psychological Determinants in the Articulation of Pre-Socratic and Aischylean Cosmology*

The thesis contains six chapters and an appendix; the first five chapters are concerned with the earlier Pre-Socratics, the sixth with Aischylos. The major argument it presents has to do with the way in which all the authors discussed found it natural to infer an *a priori* simplicity and symmetry in the objects of their attention. The most important extension of this argument results from the fact that the explanatory models they employed conform in general to a single type: that of binary opposition with an alternating dominance of the conflicting forces. The way in which these related arguments are developed and the sense in which they are of interest for the intellectual history of the sixth and fifth centuries are probably best indicated by a brief mention of the purpose and contents of each chapter; this necessarily omits many subordinate arguments and discussions into which the author allowed himself to be led.

The first chapter outlines a possible model for mental activity as a determined reflex-process. The free-will/determinism contest is briefly observed and determinism declared, if not the winner, at least the more fruitful bet. The phenomenon of consciousness is argued to belong within the determined continuum of mental activity, and that activity is described as a reactive process of assimilating the contents of perception to those previous perceptions most analogous to them. It is argued that the mind reacts to analogous events — to the extent that they are analogous — as though they were identical. This train of thought is then extended to cases of philosophizing about the world as a whole, where the need to form at least implicit models of explanation in order to deal with the potential chaos of the external world runs up against the impossibility of complete observation or testing. This is why generic models of explanation — those intended to lay bare the basic articulation of things and forces in the world — tend to be both simple and diversely applicable to parts of the whole. They betray the effects of psychological need more clearly than do the more particular explanations

required by more limited sets of events. The chapter ends with an analysis of the differences between the present attempt to account in psychological terms for the *a priori* nature of early Greek philosophy and Cornford's account of its nature as determined by prototypes in myth and ritual.

The second chapter presents an outline of the philosophy of Anaximander and proceeds to a proof of its essentially *a priori* character and to an attempt to account for that character, as well as for details of his system, in the terms of the hypotheses set out in the first chapter. The question of what forces and circumstances combined to generate Milesian philosophy is considered at some length, as is the origin of the Justice metaphor applied to physical processes. A distinction is made between synchronic and diachronic models of explanation, and Anaximander is given credit for having hit upon the second kind in response to problems new to the sixth century.

In the third and fourth chapters the systems of Anaximenes and Xenophanes are studied as advances on the speculation of their predecessors which nonetheless remained fully within the category of *a priori* speculation offering generalizable explanatory models articulated in the form of binary opposition. Attention is especially drawn to the ways in which their accounts of physical reality and process achieve a simplicity and symmetry determined by psychological needs at the expense of any great faithfulness to observable fact.

The fifth chapter, on Herakleitos, develops the argument in the same way as the two preceding, but it advances at the same time a number of ideas integral to the argument which imply the need for a certain reassessment of the nature and intent of Herakleitos' thought. He is shown to have used a version of the same model as had his predecessors, and it is argued that he was interested in it *as* a model; that is, his *logos* is not a force and is nowhere asserted to cause anything. Herakleitos' interest in the phenomenon of reductive, explanatory insight is made to account for his frequent assertions of the coincidence of opposition and unity and also for his concentration on the *logos* as naturally apprehensible by the mind.

The final chapter is an extended treatment of the surviving plays and the most easily reconstructable trilogies of Aischylos and is as long as the first five chapters together. It begins with an argument for seeing the development of tragedy as in part a response to the sixth century's need to generate new, diachronic models of existence-in-time. It is suggested that Aischylos, whom we know to have been responsible for those innovations which largely determined the form of his plays, was in effect

re-creating Solon's intuition of Justice as a self-sustaining balance in human affairs, but with the essential substitution of a diachronic for a synchronic model of its form. Aischylos' use of opposition as an explanatory model is demonstrated in a study of the structure of his plays, and the conclusions of that study are reinforced by appeal to the major changes, omissions, and additions he can be shown to have made in both myth and history.

Several elements in this treatment of Aischylos have an interest of their own apart from the argument they serve. Some fresh arguments are adduced for the priority of the *Pyrphoros* in the Prometheus trilogy. A case is made for the irrelevance of questions of free will to Aischylos' plays. The old saw of "Wisdom through Suffering" as a key to his theology is ridiculed and, it is hoped, disproven. This last argument leads also to a fundamental reinterpretation of the Zeus hymn in the *Agamemnon*.

An appendix deals with alleged occurrences of κατά + acc. as indications of causes or goals. The immediate purpose of this inquiry is to show that Herakleitos' assertion that all things come to be κατὰ τὸν λόγον τόνδε cannot be taken to imply a causal role for the *logos*. It is also, however, meant to serve as an example and a proof of the need to elicit with care and an exhaustive collection of evidence the real boundaries of early Greek conceptual categories and to avoid conceptual anachronism in the study of language no less than in the study of the ideas to which it contributes.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology   1970

G. L. SNIDER, JR. — *The Myth of Pandora in Hesiod*

This thesis, which is divided into four chapters, examines the significance of the myth of Pandora as it appears in the Hesiodic poems and attempts to demonstrate its central importance for Hesiod's thought. Chapter 1 is an introduction which reaches the conclusion that the versions of the myth that appear in the *Theogony* and in the *Works and Days* are in essential agreement and tell a consistent tale of Man's Fall from the high and happy estate of the Golden Age. Chapter 1 incidentally offers support to the view, against separatist-minded objectors, that the poems are the work of a single author and that the *Theogony* is the earlier work. Chapter 2 examines Hesiod's portraiture of Pandora and concludes that this owes much to Homer's description of women. Although essentially a digression from the main purpose of the thesis,

it confirms, in the writer's view, the correctness of his approach in interpreting Hesiod's thought against the background of the Homeric poems. Chapters 3 and 4 examine the place of the myth in the structure of the *Theogony* and *Works and Days* respectively. After examining the structure and intent of the *Theogony*, chapter 3 concludes that Hesiod intends through the myth of Prometheus–Pandora to absolve Zeus of responsibility for the physical suffering in the world, which is man's lot because of the actions of Prometheus, symbol of willful, arrogant man. Thus freed of this responsibility, Zeus appears as a beneficent god and the champion of justice so prominent in the *Works and Days*. It is argued, against other critics, that the role of Zeus as god of justice in the latter poem is adumbrated here. Chapters 3 and 4 also attempt to demonstrate that Hesiod's concern with the "problem of pain" is at variance with traditional Homeric theology and may be the product of conscious opposition on the part of the peasant poet to the more aristocratic outlook of the Homeric poems. While reaching certain conclusions of his own, the writer acknowledges his indebtedness to earlier work of E. A. Havelock, F. Solmsen, W. Jaeger, and H. T. Wade-Gery, much of which he believes is seminal for the understanding of Hesiod, the man, and his thought.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology   1970

JAMES F. TAYLOR — *The* De Lysia *of Dionysius of Halicarnassus: Prolegomena, Translation, and Selective Commentary*

Scholarship on the rhetorical treatises of Dionysius of Halicarnassus is still incomplete. W. Rhys Roberts made a significant contribution with his studies of the Literary Letters and the *De compositione verborum*, as well as several short articles. There has never been, however, a comprehensive study of the essays *On the Ancient Orators*. This thesis on the *De Lysia* represents the initial stage of such a project.

The prolegomena, which comprise the major part of the thesis, consist of two chapters. The first is a study of the validity and usefulness of Dionysius' criticism, and an effort is made to see whether or not the extant speeches of Lysias substantiate Dionysius' judgment of the orator. In general they do, although occasionally Dionysius' remarks are unclear and confusing, as, for example, in chapter 14 where he implies that the Nicias speech attributed to Lysias is spurious because of the presence of certain rhetorical figures. Examination of the admittedly genuine speeches, however, reveals that Lysias does use these same

figures. Dionysius' objections must, then, involve the excessive use of such figures to the extent that they obscure rather than clarify the subject matter, a criticism which he offers in the *De Isocrate*. Such use of figures is indeed alien to Lysias' style. Dionysius' objection is then justified, although at first confusing.

In addition to being at times unclear, Dionysius often fails to bring forth sufficient evidence to substantiate his own remarks. It is true that, at the end of the essay, he quotes lengthy portions of three speeches, so that the reader may judge whether the preceding analysis has been correct. It would be more useful to the reader, however, if, in the discussion of Lysias' style and subject matter, Dionysius had offered more παραδείγματα. All too often he merely says that a particular stylistic virtue is characteristic of Lysias without citing a passage to illustrate his point. Moreover, he makes little effort to explain how certain stylistic effects have been achieved. This is essentially the same criticism which "Longinus" made of Dionysius' contemporary Caecilius. Closer analysis and more illustration would better suit his professed didactic intent. In other essays, as, for example, the Literary Letters and the *De compositione verborum*, he is more successful.

Chapter 2 is an examination of Dionysius' diction, critical vocabulary, and style, which have not been treated systematically except in a purely encyclopedic manner (for example, Paul Geigenmueller, *Quaestiones Dionysianae de vocabulis criticae*, diss. [Leipzig] 1908). I have limited the study of diction to words in the *De Lysia* which have acquired nuances peculiar to Dionysius, and to certain important terms which have undergone significant changes during the course of Greek rhetorical and stylistic criticism. Thus, there are numerous references to other critics such as Aristotle, Caecilius, "Longinus," Demetrius, and Hermogenes. Since problems of dating and authorship are important in any study of the evolution of words, consideration is given to the authorship of the third book of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* and the dating of "Longinus" and Demetrius. The words examined are λέξις and ἑρμηνεία, κατασκευή, καθαρός, ἀκαιρολογία, ὑπέρογκος and φορτικός, ἀσφαλής and παρακεκινδυνευμένος, ἠθοποιία, καινολογία, and ἰδέα.

Nuances peculiar to a writer are often difficult to ascertain, and where dictionaries and other lexical aids prove deficient, one must rely upon the context in which a given word appears in order to discern the subtleties of its usage. Since Dionysius was a highly accomplished stylist in his own right, one can often fathom unfamiliar word usage by studying the structural relationship of a given word to other words in the sentence whose meanings are clearer. This method is useful, for example,

in discerning Dionysius' meaning of the ambiguous word ἀκαιρολογία. The conjunction of βραχέως and ἀκαιρολογία with σαφῶς and ἀσαφεία shows that ἀκαιρολογία must mean "untimely speech" in the sense of being verbose and is synonymous with μακρολογία. In fact, elsewhere in the essay is the collocation ἀκαιρός τε καὶ μακρός.

The chapter concludes with some general remarks on Dionysius' style.

The second part of the thesis is a translation of the *De Lysia*. Here I have tried to keep as close to the Greek as possible without sacrificing good English style. I have followed the Teubner text of Usener and Radermacher and have indicated lacunae where they exist.

The final part of the thesis is a selective commentary, indicating the kind of material to be handled in my proposed full commentary. I have chosen twelve topics, most of which come from the beginning of the essay. The longest is a discussion of the chronology of Lysias' life and, consequently, of Isocrates', whose age is given at the beginning of the *De Isocrate* relative to that of Lysias'. No date for Lysias' birth can be proved conclusively; the evidence, however, generally points to a date later than the traditional one of 459. Even if Dionysius' date is correct, his methods for obtaining it are certainly wrong.

Other topics include Gorgias, Likymnius and Polus, Thurii, the Lysian corpus, the virtue of ἐνάργεια, and several important textual problems.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology 1970

NICHOLAS PERRY WHITE — *Aristotle on Non-Substance*

This essay is about Aristotle's views on members of categories other than that of substance, and problems arising out of his ways of using non-substance expressions.

Aristotle's criticism of Plato's theory of Forms leads him to try to draw a distinction between two different types of expression, which seems to amount to a distinction between singular terms and general terms. In the first five chapters of the *Categories* the effort is under way. It can be shown that the effort is concentrated upon categorial non-substance expressions. Serious difficulties arise, however, in Aristotle's attempt to draw the distinction and to give a clear account of what it is for expressions to belong to different syntactic types, and hence it is difficult for him straightforwardly to mark the contrast between singular and general terms. My first chapter describes these difficulties, shows how they hamper Aristotle's critique of the theory of Forms, tells how

Aristotle undertakes without success to avoid them by means of his technical word ὅπερ, and explains how these difficulties might be expected to interfere with his attempt to make a clear contrast between the use of non-substance expressions as singular terms and their use as general terms.

The purposes of the remainder of the essay are, first, to show that this expectation is fulfilled, and, second, to give a detailed survey of changes in Aristotle's views on non-substances and the logical grammar of non-substance expressions. In the second chapter I argue that in the *Categories* Aristotle tries out two importantly different approaches to the problem, one of which is in the forefront in chapters 1–5, and the other of which is developed in later chapters. A partial explanation is given of why he might have been moved to consider the second approach and move away from the first.

Chapter 3 concerns the *De interpretatione* and the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*. In these works, Aristotle seems to tend strongly toward the second of the two approaches to non-substance expressions which are exhibited in the *Categories*. The approach does not, however, help him to draw the above-mentioned distinction between types of expressions, nor does the introduction of a battery of technical terminology which he uses in the exposition of his theory of the syllogism (for example, the verb ὑπάρχειν, which is discussed at length). From a consideration of Aristotle's theory of syllogism, one can also arrive at an explanation of why in the *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics* Aristotle treats non-substance expressions as he does.

Chapter 4 takes up a variety of related issues in the *Physics*, the *De generatione et corruptione*, and the chronologically earlier books of the *Metaphysics*, and shows Aristotle still troubled about the distinction between the different uses of non-substance expressions. His approach in these works is tentative and uncertain, and for the most part he seems to shelve the problem. The fact that he has not solved it to his satisfaction, however, can be used to explain a number of features of his use of non-substance expressions, and of his views about non-substances, which would otherwise be puzzling. These are, briefly: (1) what he says about γένεσις and φθορά, particularly of non-substances; (2) his notion of accidental sameness; and (3) certain apparent departures from his standard view that non-substantial attributes may always be lost by an object without its thereby ceasing to exist. Aristotle's continued use of such technical words as συμβεβηκέναι and ὑπάρχειν can be shown to hinder, rather than help, his effort to distinguish clearly between singular and general non-substance terms.

The purpose of the fifth chapter is twofold. In the first place, it can be shown that Aristotle's failure to draw a clear contrast between singular and general terms remains with him in the chronologically later books of the *Metaphysics*, and particularly book 7. For one thing, it produces some lack of clarity in his argument for his (newly adopted) view that there is a science of "being *qua* being"; for another, it leads him to formulate the view, notably in 7.6, that some non-substances are not "the same" as their essences (τί ἦν εἶναι). In the second place, chapter 5 offers an account of 7.1–6 under which these chapters show a coherent line of argument, arising out of a new suggestion which Aristotle makes in chapter 1 concerning non-substance expressions.

The essay rests on certain assumptions about the chronological order of Aristotle's works which have been supported in recent literature on the subject, and, to the extent that it presents a coherent picture of the development of Aristotle's view on non-substances, it may be said to bolster those assumptions further.

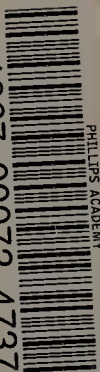HARVARD UNIVERSITY   Degree in Classical Philology   1970